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SOMERSETSHIRE  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL  
AND  
NATURAL HISTORY  
SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS,

1874



VOL. XX

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TAUNTON  
FREDERICK MAY, HIGH STREET  
LONDON: LONGMANS GREEN READER AND DYER

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## Preface.

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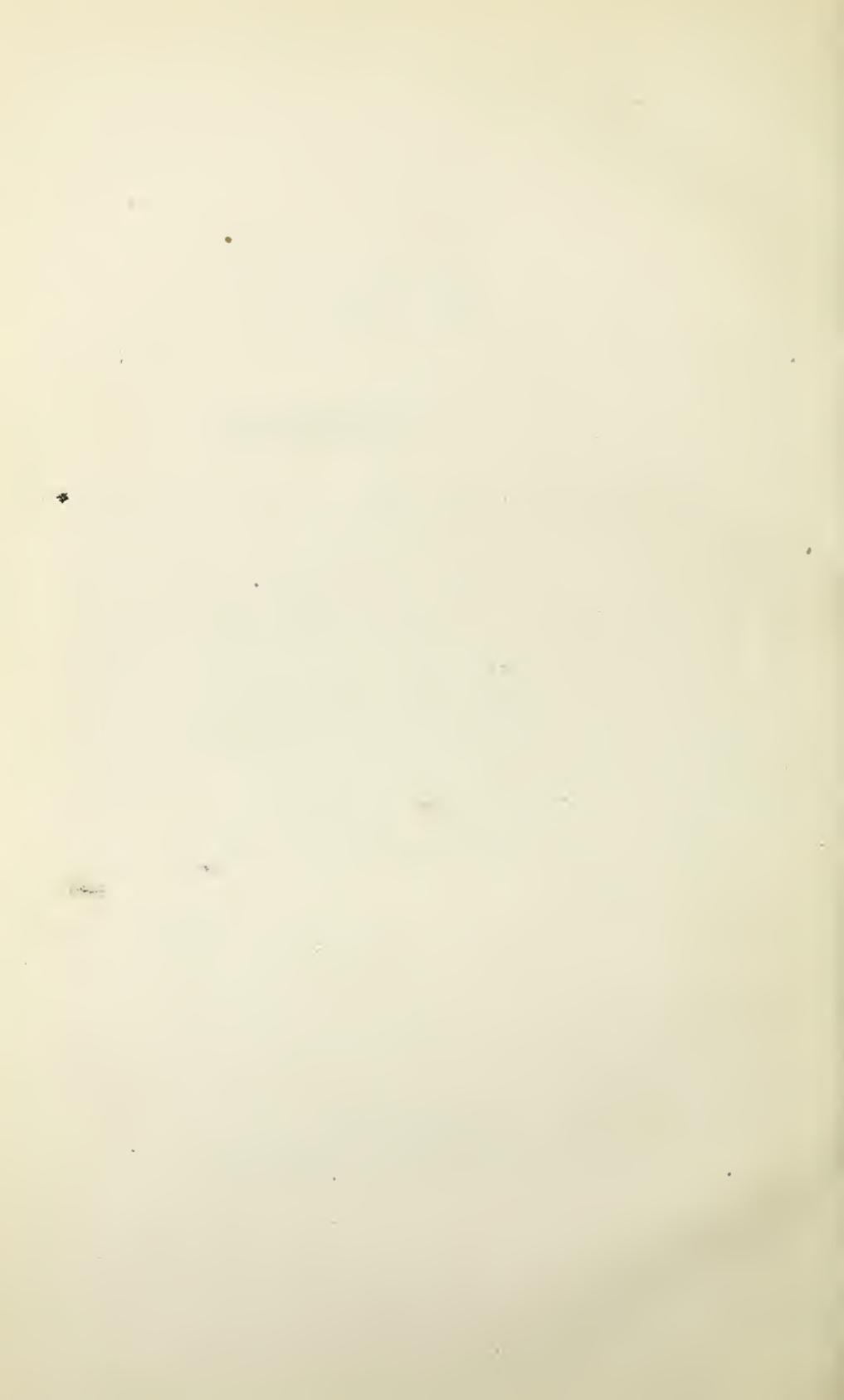
The bringing out of this Volume has been much delayed<sup>s</sup> by the pains and time which have been spent upon its illustrations. It is hoped that it will be acknowledged that these have not been spent in vain. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. J. T. Irvine for the sacrifices which he has willingly made in the midst of a press of work, in order that he might worthily illustrate his paper on the Cathedral Church at Wells ; to Mr. H. Hutchings, who has presented the plan of his house to the Society ; to Mr. G. T. Clark, who prepared for us the plan of Sherborne Castle, and to all who have contributed matter to this volume.

W. H.

—

## ERRATUM.

*Page 77, line 28, for know read known.*



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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND  
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY,  
FOR THE YEAR 1874.

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THE Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at SHERBORNE, on Tuesday, August 24th, 1874, in the Town Hall.

The public proceedings began at 12.30 p.m. The Chair was taken by the President, the **LORD BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS**. The President said that he resigned his office with satisfaction, because he felt that he had the power of nominating an able successor. He had great pleasure in proposing Mr. H. DANBY SEYMOUR as President for the year, and, he believed that, that gentleman would be able to perform the duties of the office more effectually than he had been able to do. The proposal was seconded by the Rev. **THE PROVOST OF ETON**. The Bishop then left the Chair, and Mr. H. D. Seymour was voted into it with acclamation. The new President thanked the Society ; he repudiated the idea that the duties of the office had not been ably performed by his noble and learned predecessor. He felt sure that the

Society was deeply thankful to the Bishop, not only for the singularly interesting address delivered by him last year, but for the kind interest which he had shown on all occasions in their proceedings.

The Honorary Secretary, Mr. O. W. MALET, then read the

#### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

“ The Members of the Society may remember that at the last Annual Meeting the Council reported that, it was in contemplation to purchase the old Castle at Taunton by public subscription, in order that the building might be used for the purposes of the Society.

“ The Council now have to report that the purchase has been completed for the sum of £2,850. Of this, £1,350 was supplied from realised subscriptions, and £1,500 was a loan from Stuckey’s Banking Company. An additional sum of £87, also from realised subscriptions, was paid for fixtures, furniture, &c. Up to this date about £500 more has been collected by subscriptions. One of our tenants has notice to quit at Michaelmas, after which we hope to begin to move our collection. To the above sum must be added about £6, obtained by letting out the Hall for public meetings, entertainments, &c. These sums will, of course, go to reduce the debt due to Stuckey’s Banking Company. It is calculated that about £400 will be required for alterations of the building, so that, altogether about £1,500 is required, including furniture and other expenses. With a hope of raising a large part, if not the whole of the amount still owing on this account, it is proposed that a series of fêtes be held for a week in the course of next spring, to be called the “ Castle Week.” These may include a bazaar, a ball, and other entertainments, and especially an exhibition of science and art. The sanction

of this meeting is requested to this proposal of the Committee.

“ The Council are glad to be able to report that, during the progress of collecting they have received most encouraging offers of support from almost every one of the influential residents in the county, and nearly all have stated how fully they concur in the wish to preserve and utilize the Castle as proposed. Many have given real proof of their sympathy, by increasing or doubling their original subscriptions ; to these especially, to all who have aided in the work, and to all who have given the encouragement of kind words, the Council beg to express their most grateful thanks.

“ As one of their chief supporters in this matter, the Council trust the Society will permit the special mention of one of their late Vice-Presidents, Mr. Gore-Langton, M.P., who, with his natural kindness and liberality, was always ready, even at personal inconvenience to himself, to give the Society his most valuable and valued aid. While regretting the loss of his assistance, the Council wish to put on record this tribute of respect for the memory of one who had gained the affection of all who knew him.

“ On account of the purchase of the Castle, and also on account of the large amount of valuable property now in the Museum, and under the advice of Counsel, it has been found necessary to make some alterations and additions to the Rules of the Society. These were accordingly done on the 26th March, at a Special General Meeting convened for the purpose. If the Members will kindly refer, they will see that to Rule I. has been added “ and the establishment of a Museum and Library ; ” to Rule II. the word “ Trustees ; ” to Rule VIII. “ The property of the Society shall be held in trust for the Members by six

Trustees, who shall be chosen from the Members at any General Meeting ;” Rules VII. and XIX. were also slightly modified, but Rule XX. only requires notice on this occasion. This provides that, “ In case of dissolution, the real property of the Society in Taunton shall be held by the Trustees for the advancement of literature, science, and art, in the town of Taunton, and county of Somerset.

“ At the same Special General Meeting the following Members of the Society, their consent having been previously obtained, were appointed to act as Trustees :— Messrs. H. J. Badcock, of Trull; J. Batten, of Yeovil; H. G. Moysey, of Bathealton; G. F. Luttrell, of Dunster Castle; W. A. Sanford, of Nynehead Court; and W. E. Surtees, of Tainfield. The thanks of the Society are due to these gentlemen.

“ At our last meeting the Bill for the Preservation of Historical Monuments, promoted by Sir John Lubbock, had not been brought before Parliament. It has since been so. It was lost ; but perhaps this is less to be regretted, as the list of monuments was incomplete. The Council reiterate the wish that all owners or occupiers of land on which objects of interest are situated will do their best to preserve them ; and hope they will forward to the Museum, or give notice of, any that may be in danger of destruction.

“ Several additions have been made to the Museum during the past year, but nothing worthy of special notice, except a large plesiosaur, from Street, by Mr. Sanford ; a kite (now a rare bird), by Mr. Helyar ; a red deer, from Exmoor, by Mr. Bisset ; and two silver pennies of William I. and II., to the purchase of these Mr. Marshall, of Belmont, kindly contributed.

“ As education advances the Society grows in popularity.

No less than twenty-one new Members have joined since the last Annual Meeting. The Museum is now seldom without daily visitors, and on fête days the place is thronged.

“The Council have to report that the copies of the Wells Registers mentioned in the last two yearly reports have been received, but, in the present state of the finances, the Council cannot recommend that the Society should burthen the general fund with the expense of their publication. The papers also require some further editing. The Council therefore recommend that a Committee be formed for the purpose of taking into consideration the question of publishing, and the mode of publication, of the papers now in our possession, and also of selections from the Episcopal Register.

“The Council are very anxious to make their Annual Volume of Proceedings more efficient, and especially to secure its regular publication before the meeting of each year. This year, owing to the unavoidable late appearance of Vol. XVIII., there has been considerable difficulty in doing this; but by making strong efforts, kindly aided by the contributors, Vol. XIX. is now in course of distribution. It is hoped that all who are kind enough to supply papers will send them at once to the Secretaries, and in a form ready for immediate publication.

“In conclusion the Council beg to bring prominently to the recollection of Members of Society that they are now the proprietors of a Castle of the oldest known foundation in Great Britain. To repay Stuckey’s Banking Company, and to restore the Castle to its former state, funds are wanted. It is earnestly hoped that all interested in this matter will do their utmost to further the scheme of the “Castle Week” by their personal patronage and assistance, and thus make the whole affair a success.”

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON, in moving the adoption of the Report, congratulated the Society upon the work which it was doing, and upon the purchase of Taunton Castle. He confidently expected that, though there was still some pecuniary difficulty, the Society would be able to surmount it. He referred to the proposed publication of the Indexes of the Registers of the Dean and Chapter, and advocated also the preparation and publication of Indexes of the Bishops' Registers. He pointed out the great value which these documents had, as they were in almost unbroken succession from about 1310 down to the present time. He hoped that a Committee would be appointed to consider how the Indexes which had been prepared might be published, and, if necessary, to make alterations in them.

The BISHOP agreed with Mr. Dickinson as to the value of efficient Indexes to the Wells Records, and, on his Lordship's motion, a Committee was formed, consisting of Mr. F. H. Dickinson, Mr. J. Batten, Mr. T. Serel, and the Hon. Secretaries, with power to add to their number, to take such steps as might appear advisable to them to publish by subscription or otherwise Indexes to the Wells Records.

Mr. T. SEREL, in seconding the adoption of the Report, brought under notice the state of the Chapel and Hall of the Vicars' Close at Wells. The former, "one of the architectural gems of the city," was, he said, in a deplorable state of decay and dilapidation, so much so that, if prompt steps were not taken, it must inevitably share the fate of other rare examples of mediæval art which had disappeared in Wells within the last few years. After briefly sketching the history of the Close, and its possessors, the Vicars Choral, he proceeded to say that, within

the previous three or four months the Vicars had rejected a voluntary proposition to thoroughly repair and restore the Chapel and Hall, at a cost of nearly £600. He stated that it seemed to him that the Vicars altogether forgot their legal obligations, as well as the obligations they owed to their founders and benefactors; they forgot that they held their Close more in the character of *trustees*, with incident conditions and responsibilities, than as absolute owners. Mr. Serel continued, "It is but fair to say that the Vicars themselves cannot undertake so costly a work, but when the means were ready, without resorting to their own exchequer for a penny, it is unaccountable that the generous offer made to them has been so unceremoniously and so inconsiderately rejected." He then suggested that a representation should be made to the Vicars, either direct, or through the Lord Bishop as their "Visitor," who had power to deal effectually with the subject. He then spoke of another matter of almost equal importance to the preservation of the Close. It appeared from his remarks that the Vicars had a few years ago surrendered their estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in consideration of an annual money payment. This had given the Commissioners power to alienate, absolutely and for ever, the houses in the Close, except those which were retained for the present body of Vicars. In this way the Close, so valuable and interesting in its connexion with the Cathedral, might be wholly severed from the church, and its ancient characteristic feature obliterated to suit the tastes and conveniences of its new owners. To avoid this danger, as well as to consider the question of repairing the Chapel and Hall, Mr. Serel suggested the appointment of a Committee with powers to act in the name and on behalf of the Society, quoting the words of Mr. Freeman

in one of his lectures on the history of the Cathedral, when referring to the destruction of old buildings in Wells, "We must keep a sharp eye about us, or this city of ours may lose, almost without knowing it, the distinctive character which makes it unique among the cities of England."

The BISHOP said that he had not yet made up his mind exactly as to the course to pursue, but they would agree with him that the powers of a visitor ought to be exercised with the greatest reservation. He was not by any means indifferent to the condition of the Chapel of the Close. During the last twelve months certain negotiations had been going on between the Vicars and those interested in the Theological College, and a part of the plan proposed was the restoration of the Chapel. Whilst these negotiations were going on it was undesirable to exercise visitorial powers, but, if necessary, he should be prepared to take means to put the Chapel in such repair as was necessary for the decent observance of the worship of Almighty God.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON was glad to hear the statement of the Bishop. What Mr. Serel wanted, however, was that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should not sell the property in the Close by lots and bits, so as to deprive it of its distinctive character. He proposed the appointment of a Committee, consisting of the Bishop, Canon Meade, the Members of Parliament for the division of Mid-Somerset, Mr. W. A. Sanford, Mr. T. Serel, Mr. F. H. Dickinson, and the Rev. W. Hunt, as secretary, to secure the preservation of the buildings of the Close, and to forward any plans for judicious restoration.

Mr. MEADE KING asked what powers the Committee would possess.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON said that they would have no

powers beyond that of conferring with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in order to obtain a more definite promise from them that they would not part with the reversions.

Mr. MEADE KING did not think that any benefit would arise from the action of the Committee, and considered that in its appointment the Society was travelling out of its proper province. At the same time, if the meeting considered the appointment necessary, he would not oppose it.

The Committee was appointed as proposed.

The Report of the Council was then declared adopted.

The following FINANCIAL STATEMENT was then presented by the Treasurers :—

**The Treasurers in Account with the Somersetshire Archaeological and Dr. Natural History Society.**

Dr.	1873.	Cr.	1873-4.	Cr.
Aug. 12.				
By Balance of former Account	25 0 4		To Annual Meeting Expenses,	
“ Excursion Tickets	12 12 6		Advertising, &c. ....	26 5 2
“ Museum Admission Fees..	22 11 3		“ Repairs, &c. ....	1 5 6
“ Entrance Fees ...	13 10 0		“ Stationery, Printing, &c. ....	24 11 7
“ Subscriptions ....	204 0 0		“ Coal, Gas, &c. ....	14 6 4
“ Sale of Volumes ...	3 9 0		“ Curator's Salary (1 year to August 3, 1871) ....	57 10 0
“ Donation <sup>recd</sup> from Mr. J. “ Marshall towards pur- chase of coins ...	3 11 0		“ Rent (1 year, to Midsummer 1874) ....	30 0 0
“ Transferred from Castle Purchase Fund, on ac- count of Printing, Pos- tage, &c. ....	20 0 0		“ Insurance ....	4 1 6
			“ Purchase of Books and Specimens ....	11 17 3
			“ Balance of account for print- ing Vol. XVIII. ....	96 6 6
			“ Illustrations, Photographs, &c. ....	12 3 6
			“ Subscription to Ray Society, 1874 .....	1 1 0
			“ Ditto, to Palaeontographical Society, for 1874 ....	1 1 0
			“ Ditto, to Harleian Society, 1874 .....	1 1 0
			“ Postage of Volumes of Pro- ceedings ....	7 3 8
			“ Sundries ....	1 2 4
			“ Postages, Carriage, &c. ....	14 5 4
			Balance ....	12 5
	<u>£ 304 14 1</u>		<u>£ 304 14 1</u>	

H., H. J. & D. BADCOCK, *Treasurers.*

Examined, compared the vouchers, and found correct, Aug. 14th, 1874.

HENRY ALFORD.

R. MEADE KING.

The Report of the Treasurers was received and adopted.  
The Vice-Presidents, the Treasurers, and the Hon.

General Secretaries were re-appointed. The Local Secretaries were re-elected, with the addition of the Rev. W. Lyon, the Vicar of Sherborne.

Mr. W. Bidgood was re-elected Assistant Secretary and Curator, and the Rev. W. HUNT, Hon. Secretary, expressed to the Society his sense of the value of Mr. Bidgood's laborious and intelligent services.

The Rev. H. H. WINWOOD proposed that the next Annual Meeting should be held at Frome, and that Lord Cork should be asked to accept the office of President on that occasion.

Mr. W. A. SANFORD said that he had hoped that the Society would meet at Dulverton, as there was a fine field for work in that neighbourhood.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON seconded the proposition made by Mr. Winwood, and it was carried unanimously. At the same time it was resolved that, if possible, a meeting should be held at Dulverton in 1876.

Seven gentlemen were then elected by acclamation as new Members of the Society, the rule requiring previous notice being suspended for the occasion.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his

## *Inaugural Address.*

THE Somersetshire Archaeological Society has this year chosen as the place of their meeting this charming town in the neighbouring county of Dorset, in which, notwithstanding many objects of attraction, there is no archæological society.

The ground is therefore free; we are trespassing on nobody's especial province, and we may hope, before long, either that a separate Society may be founded in Dorsetshire, or, as the county is not a large one, that persons interested in our pur-

suits may join our Society, or offer to unite with us in a body, and extend the area of our researches to both counties.

Should such a proposal ever be made, I am sure it would receive, whether accepted or not, most careful consideration from the members of our Society.

Dorsetshire possesses many objects of interest, both in an archaeological and in a natural history point of view. The beautiful churches of Wimborne and Sherborne, the remains of John of Gaunt's Palace at Canford, the mouldering stones of Corfe Castle, the splendid pile of Milton Abbey, and some very few remains of antiquity where once stood the celebrated Abbey of Shaftesbury, are places of great historical and archaeological interest.

Then, in a natural history point of view, we have the curious formation of the Isle of Purbeck; the fine clay beds about Poole; the curious phenomenon of the Chesil beach; the landslip at Lyme Regis, and the wonderful beds of lias there, so productive of vestiges of the earlier creation. If Somersetshire be considered too small an area for our Society, we are fortunate in having so rich a region within easy distance, and accessible by railway.

By the kindness of the proprietors, we shall be able at this meeting to examine two of the most remarkable country seats in the county of Dorset. We shall visit to-day the lovely domain of Sherborne Lodge, as it was formerly called, which must ever remain associated with the name of the chivalrous Sir Walter Raleigh, who built the house, and laid out the grounds, perhaps on plans talked over between him and his great contemporary, Lord Bacon—"For this royal ordering of gardens" was one of the many sumptuous and seductive tastes in which they both agreed. They considered, in the language of that day, "a garden as amongst the purest of human pleasures, without which, building and palaces are but gross handyworks."<sup>1</sup> Hardly anywhere else are the tokens of

(1). *Essay xlvi. "Of Gardens."*

Raleigh's love of planting so conspicuous as at Sherborne. He loved the place for the remembrance of the domestic happiness he found there. From 1591 to 1594, he enjoyed, perhaps for the longest interval ever accorded to him, the rural and domestic pleasures of a seat—

Where winds, perhaps, our woods sometimes may shake,  
But blustering care could never tempest make ;  
Nor murmurs ere come nigh us,  
Saving of fountains that glide by us.

We shall have the great advantage of being shewn over the old Castle by Mr. Clark, and we must ever regret that this masterpiece of military architecture, as it is called, of old Bishop Roger, of Salisbury, was sacrificed, but not by Raleigh, for the sake of its materials, to complete the Lodge.

To morrow, by the kindness of Lord Ilchester, we shall visit the ancient seat of Melbury, under the able guidance of Mr. Parker, and shall see several other objects of interest on the way.

This is the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of our Society. Its inaugural meeting, at which I had the honour of being present, was held at Taunton, and Dean Buckland made there a remarkable, but somewhat eccentric speech. You know that shortly afterwards the reason of this eminent pioneer of geology gave way, and that he never afterwards recovered. No man knew our county better than he did, and the studies which made him famous were prosecuted at the Banwell caves and other spots within our boundaries.

Mr. Freeman also assisted us at the beginning, and has ever since shone among us as a star of the first magnitude.

The late Mr. Henry Drummond, in his inaugural address at the foundation of the Surrey Archæological Society, in 1854, spoke of the use of local societies like ours, to obtain accurate materials for the general history of our country, and told an anecdote of Mr. Hume, the philosopher and historian. "All our histories," says Mr. Drummond, "are but compilations; you may take Hume, he is nothing but a compiler, and very

inaccurate." I remember Mr. Bruce, one of the very first and ablest persons in the Record Office, stating that he had shewn Mr. Hume some very valuable documents in connexion with the history of the country, and he, on looking at them, said, "I admit they are very interesting, but, if I begin to read them, I shall have to write my history over again, for I am all wrong."

Now, Gentlemen, without in the least depreciating the peculiar merits of Mr. Hume's history, to which I am fully alive, I will say that there is a gentleman among us, Mr. Freeman, who, since Mr. Drummond spoke, has given us a real history of a portion of our national life; and who would write and re-write his history a dozen times, so long as he thought there were any materials unused which would alter the bearing of any portion of it.

Then we have the names of Sir Walter Trevelyan, Mr. Boyd Dawkins, Mr. Ayshford Sanford, and others, who have helped to keep up the reputation, and to insure the prosperity of our Society—so much so, that our list of members is now longer than it has ever been.

Especially, we have an admirable Museum, and natural history collections scientifically arranged, for which we have, I believe, especially to thank Mr. Sanford. We hope these will shortly be removed to a building worthy of them—namely, the magnificent old Castle of Taunton.

The period since 1849 has been one of great activity and much progress all over the world, both in archaeology and in natural history. For we will use the term, natural history, in the more extended meaning which the ancients attached to it, as including everthing that does not relate to the results of human skill, and the products of human faculties.

In every country men have sought to know more of those who have preceded them on the earth, and of the works which they accomplished. In the present day we are able to take a much wider view of archaeology than those before us. Our

horizon is no longer bounded by what is called the Classic period. Bunsen calls the time of Abraham the middle ages of the world, and our knowledge of what we may call the early history before that time has been much increased in the last twenty-five years. In 1859, Layard published the account of his discoveries at Nineveh, and Rawlinson gave us the key to the treasures of the Mesopotamian libraries. We are now familiar with the appearance and manners of the Mesopotamian peoples, of whom our knowledge was previously very scanty.

The labours of Max Müller, and others, have traced the thread of our connexion with the earliest ages, and every schoolboy now knows that he belongs to the Aryan race, that the Persians and the Hindoos are his distant cousins, and that his relationship to them may be proved by his language, and the traditions which we have in common. One great fact brought out by the successful prosecution of this study of early history, is that not the meanest piece of knowledge is useless, and the most abstruse studies of the learned may now said to be principally occupied with clodhoppers' dialects, nursery tales, and old women's stories.

Again, Birch, Lepsius, Brugsch, and Mariette, have immensely increased our knowledge of the literature and manners of ancient Egypt, so closely connected with biblical studies and Assyrian history. Dr. Brugsch Bey is certainly one of the first Egyptologists of the present day, and I am engaged, in translating his remarkable *History of Egypt*, drawn from the ancient monuments. He writes to me a few weeks ago—"I must inform you, my dear Sir, that the second edition of my history, which is now preparing, contains exceedingly interesting results of my last studies on the subject of the history of this curious people, especially for that part which is contemporary with the events of the Exodus. I have made remarkable discoveries, which prove to me that the monuments entirely agree with the accounts of Holy Scripture.

You shall receive a pamphlet on this subject in a week or two, &c."

Then we have that remarkable expedition to Palestine, sent out by the Society of Biblical Archaeology, which has already produced most interesting results, and promises us an increase of knowledge into the pre-Jewish history of Palestine.

Lycia and Asia Minor have enriched our National Museum with treasures, which have given us important knowledge on the early history of art. A portion of two out of the seven wonders of the world now exist in our British Museum, and some of the most important parts of the temple of Diana of Ephesus, and the magnificent tomb of Mausolus, erected by his queen, may now be seen in London, adorning our capital, where Sir Gilbert Scott has erected another monument for a widowed queen, which, I venture to think, goes far to equal the work of antiquity.

Mr. Schliemann is now engaged, with astonishing assiduity and liberality, in investigating the site of ancient Troy, and has been rewarded by the discovery of golden treasures, which have, perhaps, laid hid ever since the fatal night when the wooden horse entered the walls of Troy, and Æneas led the young Iulus to found the still more celebrated city of Rome.

The sacred flame of archaeological investigation has even crossed the Atlantic; and, about the year of your foundation, there appeared in the new country of the United States, as the first of the *Smithsonian Transactions*, a most interesting memoir on the remains of ancient nations in the valley of the Mississippi. Since then the Americans have been most active in prosecuting researches into the pre-Columban, as they call it, history of their country, and they have many flourishing archaeological societies.

Our horizon, too, has widened; we are no longer contented with mere historical research, we ascend to ages which have long been hidden, and pre-historic investigations must now be considered an important part of archaeology.

In this pursuit, the two separate divisions of our Society—the archaeological and the natural history section—may combine; and while the one looks with interest on the works of art, and other labours of our pre-historic forefathers, the knowledge of the geologist, and of the palæontologist, is required to approximate the time of these earliest vestiges of the human race.

Archæology is peculiarly suited to be pursued with success by local societies.

It is founded on a minute and accurate study of details. For good historical, or scientific observation, accuracy is the first thing required; and it is no easy matter to be a correct observer. But the place where we live, or which we very often visit, where we know every feature, where we have time for patient reflection, is just the place which we may describe thoroughly, so that the work need not be done over again. We can also collect traditions before they fade, and describe monuments before they pass away.

As it has been said that a man can never know any language perfectly, except his own mother tongue, so it may be said that a man has peculiar facilities for intimately knowing the country where he has been born and bred.

What admirable papers have been contributed to many local societies, such as the Caen Society, and the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, or *Cantiana*, or to our Society, by such men as Mr. Freeman, and Mr. Boyd Dawkins!

One of the most curious discoveries of modern times, that of the Lake Villages, was made by a private member of the Zurich Archæological Society, Dr. Keller, whom I hold in affectionate remembrance as my tutor when a boy. That discovery led to similar discoveries in various countries, from Italy to Ireland, of records of ancient nations, where, to the ordinary eye, there appeared no vestige of any human community ever having dwelt.

There's not an atom of yon earth  
But once was living man ;  
From the most gloomy glens  
Of Greenland's sunless clime,  
To where the golden fields  
Of fertile England spread,  
Thou canst not find a spot  
Whereon no city stood.

If ever we have a really good history of Somersetshire, we shall owe it, probably, to the interest inspired by our Society, and some of its distinguished members.

If some gentleman in every parish was to collect the details connected with it, and accurately examine the available records and papers, and describe the monuments of the past, and collect the traditions, we should soon have a body of materials which might be worked up into a really good history of our county.

The late Bishop of Salisbury, some years ago, requested every incumbent to draw up a short memoir of his own parish, and I believe that many gentlemen took great pains in executing the wishes of the good bishop, and that a valuable body of materials has been collected, which, some day, no doubt, will be made use of.

Our own Bishop has done us the honour of presiding over our Society ; has honoured us with his presence to-day, and always shewn a lively interest in our welfare.

The clergy, in past ages, have done, perhaps, more for archaeology than any other body of men, and Mr. Hallam places the labours of the Congregation of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur, before all the labours of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge put together. I know of no reason why our Protestant clergy should be less industrious than the clergy of the Catholic past, without in any way neglecting their proper duties. They have all of them received a learned education, and I have always thought that a good, public, free, county library was much needed, where those disposed to keep up their learning might borrow the necessary works. Ac-

tuated by these views, I once, a long time ago, gave the nucleus of a public library in Wiltshire, but no progress in this scheme has hitherto been made.

There are very few counties more interesting than Somersetshire ; it is a kind of epitome of all England.

There is the port and marine of Bristol ; the fisheries of the Channel ; the coal and other mines of the Mendips ; the wild and beautiful scenery of the Quantocks ; the unrivalled pastures of the vale of Taunton ; and fruit orchards, which may vie with those of Kent.

The taste and wealth of Glastonbury, and other abbies, have made the most of the beautiful materials for building which we possess, and have left us, both in ecclesiastical and domestic architecture, edifices of consummate beauty, heightened by the charm of antiquity.

Our historic souvenirs yield to that of no other country.

First come the Celtic legends, which cluster imperishably round the Isle of Avalon. They relate to a people with many great qualities, and often brilliant genius ; always interesting, and always unfortunate. Whether their lot was to oppose the Roman, like Vereingetorix and Boadicea ; or the Saxon, like King Arthur ; or the Protestant succession, like Lochiel and the Highlanders ; or the Spanish Republic, like Don Carlos at the present hour ; we see the same qualities, and may predict the same fate.

Then we come to another hero, typical of a more successful people. The most important part of the history of the great  $\text{\textit{\text{Ælfred}}}$  is very closely connected with our county. With us was passed his lowest point of depression ; from among us he sallied forth to permanent victory.

Then the Saxon rises and falls ; the Norman conquers us for our good. From the mixture of races rises the English nation. English institutions pass through a healthy growth ; but when an attempt was made to check the development of our institutions, in the 17th century, Laud and Strafford had

to yield to Cromwell, and the unfortunate Charles II. found a refuge among faithful friends in this neighbourhood.

Again, a few years later, Somersetshire was imperishably associated with the rebellion of the unhappy Monmouth, and traditions of the rebellion, and its cruel suppression, were, as we know, long preserved about the neighbourhood of Sedgemoor.

Thus, Somersetshire, from the earliest to the latest times, had her full share of the interest attaching to the growth of the noble stream of English history. If we have Arthur and Ælfred at the beginning, we may look to Blake in comparatively modern times; to Locke, who pursued here his philosophical studies; and Wellington, who honoured us by taking the deserved title of his victories from a small town in our county. What nobler field can the archæologist have than to examine the features, and collect the traditions of a county where great events have passed, and great men have lived. Each village, almost, has traditions and remains connected with the early history of our county. Let us hope that the roll of Somersetshire worthies is not yet closed, but that the rising generation, when they study our past history, may emulate their forefathers, and remember that, with education at every man's door, we are more and more approaching the ideal of the political economist, when every man may start on equal terms in the race of life. Our common history is the common property of all, both rich and poor, and I should like to see the day when the cottagers should feel as much interest in Ælfred, in Drake, in Bacon, in Watt, as the most distinguished member in our Society. If tradition is dying out, reading and instruction must take the place of the old, unwritten epos. More pains should be taken to teach our English history to all classes.

Sir Francis Palgrave observes, "Our English archives are unparalleled. None are equally ample, varied, and continuous; none have descended from remote times in equal preservation

and regularity, not even the archives of the Vatican." There can, therefore, be no excuse for not teaching to all classes our glorious history ; and, depend upon it, that no nation can continue to hold its place which forgets the deeds of its forefathers, and who does not feel the deepest interest in the archæology of the spots where they laboured or bled.

I feel that I am only a *locum tenens* for the distinguished and popular owner of the magnificent domain of Sherborne Castle, who would have presided to day, but is incapacitated by ill health from taking the chair on this occasion, and I trust that the kindness of the meeting will pardon all defects, and forget my shortcomings in the interesting addresses and papers of the several distinguished gentlemen who have honoured the meeting by their presence.

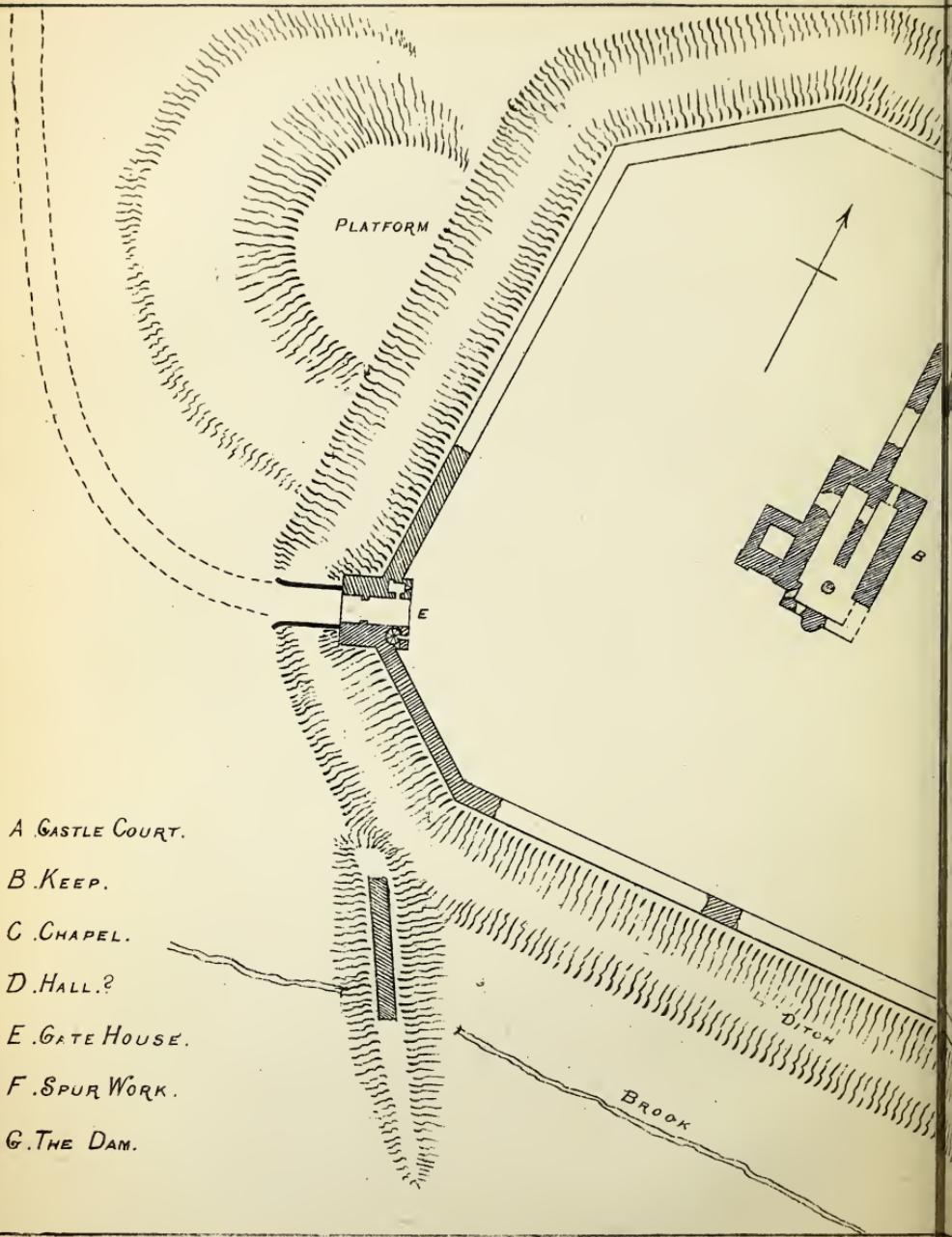
Mr. CHISHOLM-BATTEN proposed, and Canon MEADE seconded, a vote of thanks to the President for his able and interesting address.

The Society then left the Hall, and soon afterwards visited the earthworks and ruins of Sherborne Castle, under the guidance of Mr. CLARK. The substance of Mr. Clark's explanation, which he has prepared for the Society, is as follows :—

### Sherborne Castle.

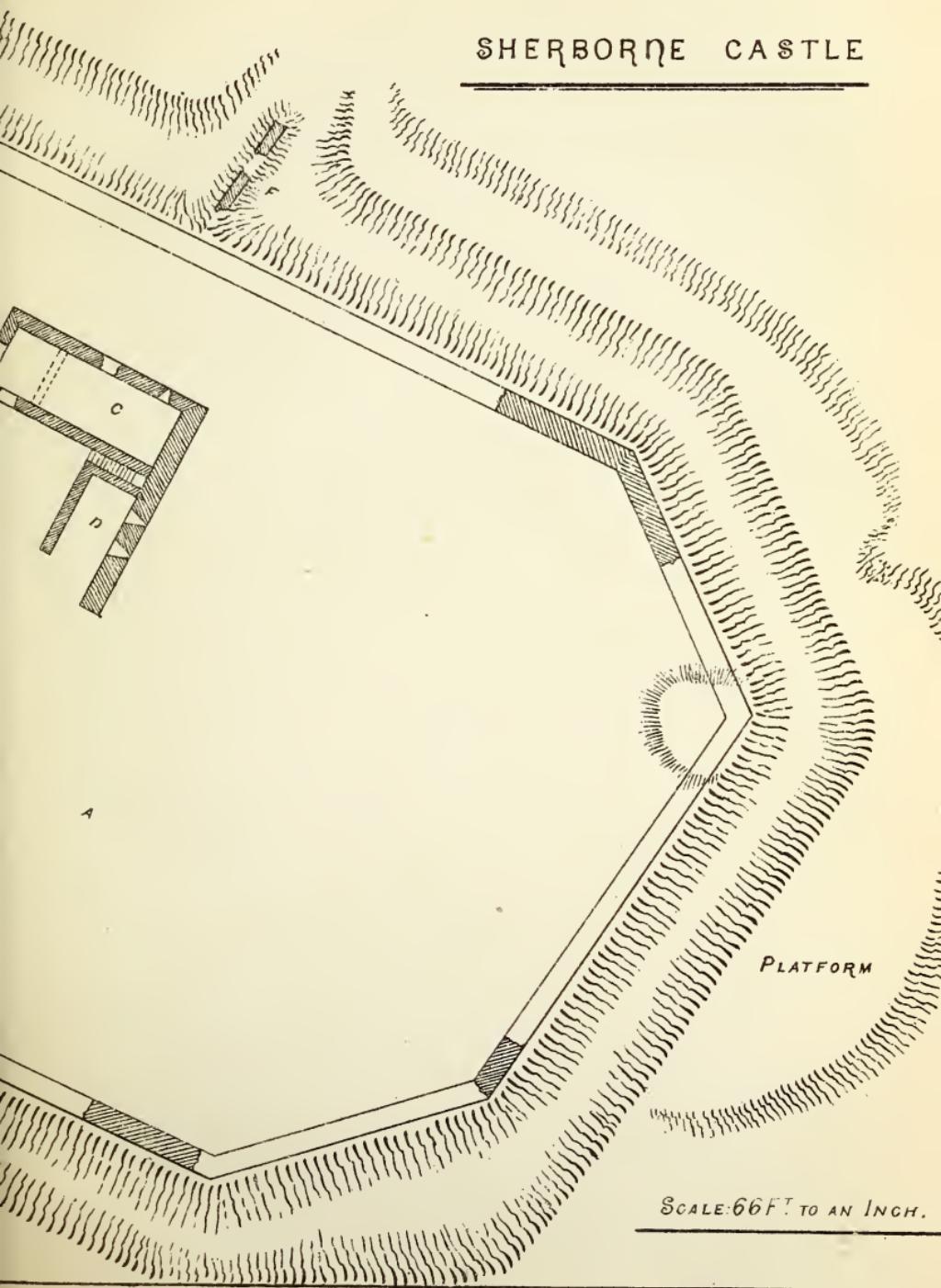
The Castle of Sherborne, the ancient chief seat of the Hundred of that name in the county of Dorset, occupies a plot of elevated land, placed intermediate between the junction of two water-courses, the contents of which largely contributed to its defence. The one rises beyond Hanover Hill to the south and east, and flows south of the Castle, at this time being employed to feed the lake in Sherborne Park ; the other, rising at Seven Wells on the north, descends by Pointington and Obourne, turns the mill close north of the Castle, and, finally, combining with





SHERBORNE CASTLE

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SCALE: 66FT TO AN INCH.



the other stream, skirts the southern border of the town, and is known as the *Yeo*, which becomes one of the principal rivers of the adjacent county of *Somerset*.

Both streams, as they approach the Castle, are connected with broad, low tracts of land, now fertile meadow, but anciently more or less impracticable morass. One of these tracts is traversed by the railway, another is partially covered by the lake, and a third, of smaller extent, lies close east of the Castle, and intervenes between it and the town.

The source of the name of *Sherborne* has been the subject of dispute, some reading it the “*Shire burn*,” or boundary brook of the county, and others the “*Clear burne*,” as in *Clearwell* and *Brightwell*, from the Saxon *Scir*, *Scyr*, or *Sheer*: pure, bright, clear. As neither of the streams connected with the town are, or, so far as is known, ever were, the boundaries of the shire, and as their sources are copious, and not impure, the latter etymology is probably the correct one.

The site of the Castle is indicated by Nature for a residence in troublous times. A knoll of rock and gravel, about 200 yards in length, or east and west, by 150 yards in breadth, rises about 40 or 50 feet above the surrounding meadows. The surface has been levelled, and an oval area of about 150 yards by 105 yards, has been traced out, and its margin scarped and pared into a steep slope of about 45 feet deep. The material has not been thrown upwards and inwards, as was usual, but outwards; so that the slope descends into a broad and deep ditch, the counterscarp of which is a bank, more or less artificial, beyond which on the north is a broad level, and on the south and south-east, in part, is level land, and in part a second ditch, down which flows the southern stream. As the knoll was rather longer

than was needed, its two ends, east and west, were cut off by the ditch, and form detached eminences, or outworks, beyond it. That to the west is bold and small, and commanded the approach from the town to the principal entrance of the fortress ; that to the east is lower, but of wider extent, and may have been used as a safe pasture ground for the stock of the garrison.

To the south-west of the Castle a very considerable bank of earth has been thrown up across the bed of the southern stream at its deepest and narrowest part. This was evidently intended to pen back the waters. Whether it is original, or has been added in Norman times, is doubtful. On the northern side no such dam was needed, but the water was to some extent penned back by the weir of the Castle mill.

As Sherborne was an episcopal residence from the 8th century, and was held by prelates who took a full share in the wars of a very turbulent part of England, it is probable that the earthworks which have been described were thrown up in the 8th, 9th, or 10th centuries, and defended after the English manner, either with masonry of a very light description, or with palisades of timber.

As the present masonry is of a most substantial character, and of a date apparently of the first quarter of the 12th century, it is most probable that the Norman prelates found it convenient to retain the English defences until they were able, after half a century of occupation, to replace them with others of a Norman type, and which still remain.

In the laying out of the present works, the earlier platform, which was, no doubt, merely rounded, was converted into a sort of rhomboidal octagon, the angles of the main figure being cut off. The curtain by which this

outline was formed was irregular. Its opposite ends were 74 yards and 59 yards long, and the sides 113 yards and 112 yards, while the opposite short sides, representing the angles, were 28 yards and 37 yards, and 33 yards and 38 yards. The angles at which these sides met varied from  $121^\circ$  to  $143^\circ$ , and the eight averaged about  $135^\circ$ . The curtain was of sound, coursed rubble, with interior and exterior quoins of ashlar at the angles. It was 7 feet thick, and about 30 feet high. Its whole length was 492 yards, of which about 110 yards remain, more or less perfect, in six fragments. The gate-house stands on the curtain, and, besides this, an old plan shews three rectangular towers, upon the short sides of the wall. Of one of these there is a trace in a heap of rubbish towards the north-east, from which it appears as though these mural towers projected mainly inwards. No doubt the ditch was at the same time deepened, and the exterior bank may then have been raised or strengthened ; and this is probably meant when it is said that Bishop Roger “ made the ditch and a false mure ” outside it.

The gate-house stands at, and takes the place of, the south-western angle of the enclosure. It is bonded into and of the same date with the curtain on either side. It is a square tower of 28 feet, projecting 14 feet beyond the curtain. It has a basement and three stories. The basement is occupied by the entrance passage, 11 feet broad, and two lateral masses of 8 feet 6 inches each, solid in front, but in the rear of the work, occupied, the northern by a barrel-vaulted lodge, full-centred, 4 feet 6 inches by 7 feet, with a small cupboard in the north wall. There is a narrow door of 18 inches, with a segmental head, opening into the passage ; it has also a loop to the court. In the opposite wall is a well stair, 5 feet in diameter, which seems to have

had a door, now built up, towards the court, and to have ascended to the roof, opening upon the three upper floors. It is said that the whole angle, including the doorway, fell down, and was rebuilt solid. This would account for there being no present trace of the opening. The main passage has a segmental arch in front and rear, the jambs of the former being broken away ; and in the centre is a rebate for a pair of gates opening inwards, the arch of which is gone. There is no portcullis, and no trace of either an outer or inner grate. Except at the ribs, the passage was covered with flat timbers, as was usual in Norman gate-houses.

The first floor was one room with a large, full-centered window in front and rear, probably fitted up for two lights. On the north side two loops, now much broken, commanded the front and rear of the curtain. Between them was a fire-place. On the south side a mural passage from the well-stair had two loops corresponding to those above mentioned.

The second floor has two large Tudor windows front and rear, a fire-place to the north, and on each side doors opening on the battlements of the curtain. The upper floor is nearly destroyed ; only the cills of its two two-light Tudor windows remain. The flues of the fire places in the north wall are bent and coaxed to reach the north-west angle, where they ascend as a turret which ends in a pyramidal top, below which, towards the north and south, are three small, round-headed arches, for the escape of smoke. The chimney-head looks Norman, but the fire-places and flues have the appearance of having been inserted in the wall in the Tudor period. The whole requires a more careful examination than the height of the chimney, and the ivy which covers it, will allow of to ordinary visitors.

A weather-moulding, remaining upon the interior face of the south wall, shews that while, originally, the lateral walls of the gate-house were of their present height, the front and rear walls were no higher than the top of the first floor, the roof sloping to the front and rear from a central ridge. Afterwards, probably in the Tudor period, these two walls were raised, two new floors added, and a flat roof substituted for the old one. This makes the age of the chimney-head the more problematical. Altogether, this gate-house is a very peculiar and interesting structure. It is certainly Norman, and of the age of the connected curtain ; and the flat pilasters at each angle shew that the two lateral walls are original, and were always of their present height. The present approach is by a causeway, apparently solid, contained within two walls, and 66 feet long, such being the breadth of the ditch at that point. This, no doubt, replaces an older bridge, at the inner end of which was a gap and a draw-bridge.

The domestic buildings seem to have formed a square, or nearly so, of about 35 yards, broken by the projection of the keep, which stood at the south-west corner, that nearest to the gate-house. The group, though detached, is not central, standing towards the north-western angle of the area.

The keep is, or has been, rectangular, 41 feet broad, probably, by 66 feet long. The walls are 9 feet thick. Its basement, at the ground level, is divided, longitudinally, by a wall 6 feet thick, into two long barrel vaults, 8 feet 6 inches broad. The original entrance seems to have been at the north end of the east vault, and near it is a rude aperture in the cross-wall, probably an original doorway. There seems to have been a loop in the west or exterior wall. Appended to the south end of the east wall is a turret,

23 feet broad, by 17 feet projection, probably without any exterior opening at the basement level. The south end of the keep has been much altered. The dividing wall ceases at 22 feet from the north end, and a chamber is thus formed, 22 feet square. In the centre of this stands a cylindrical, very decided Norman pier, 3 feet in diameter, which carries the vaulting of the chamber. The south wall, and the adjacent parts of the lateral walls, have been destroyed, and rebuilt only 4 feet thick ; and in its centre, where this new wall receives the main thrust of the vault, it has been strengthened by a half-round exterior pilaster, of 4 feet projection. The wall on each side of this pilaster has been pierced by several large windows, the rough openings of which are 5 feet broad, expanding inwards to 7 feet ; of these two, and a part of a third remain. The pier is undoubtedly Norman, and the basement floor, possibly, always had a vaulted chamber at this end, but the thin walls and large windows are, evidently, Tudor work, executed with old materials, and faced with the original blocks of ashlar.

The keep had a first floor, reached by a curved staircase in the north wall, the door at the head of which was exactly above that with the basement. It seems to have contained one room, 23 feet broad, and about 48 feet long. As the walls continue to be 9 feet thick, it is probable that this first floor also was vaulted, and, it may be, with one span. In the east wall a passage of 3 feet 6 inches broad leads into the turret, and on its left, down a few steps, is a small mural wardrobe chamber, 3 feet broad. The turret, which within is 10 feet by 12 feet, seems to have been, as at Kenilworth, a wardrobe pit, or, possibly, a prison, with a trap-door in the vault above ; a moderate excavation would decide which. It is clear

that this large first floor was altered at the south end into a light bay window of Tudor fashion, to support which was the main cause of the alterations below.

The level of this floor is indicated outside the east wall by a chamfered string, having a chevron moulding in relief upon the chamfer.

Probably there was a second floor, part of the turret still rising to that height, though too much shrouded with ivy to be examined.

The south face and south-east angle of this inner ward are gone, but there remain buildings against the east and north walls. Against the north wall is a spacious chamber, 69 feet by 18 feet 6 inches, of two stages, the basement being vaulted, the eastern two-thirds in three bays, the western remainder by a barrel vault. Probably a cross wall divided these on each floor. The basement, no doubt, was for stores. There are traces of loops in the north wall, and there is also a door. The superstructure was lofty, and the eastern part over the bay vaulting was the chapel. There remains part of a small, Norman east window, the exterior jamb of which is worked in a bold chevron pattern; and below this, within, are traces of a Norman arcade, of four arches, in the wall. Also, in the north wall, close to the east end, there still remains a small Norman window of exceeding beauty, having reduplicated bands of the chevron moulding. Opposite, outside the south wall, a mural stair ascends, and seems to have opened into the chapel close to the altar, where the piscina should be. This is unusual, but it is possible that this stair may not have entered the chapel at all, but have been intended to give access to a room to its south. Against the south wall of the preceding building, and, therefore, within the court, a weather

moulding at the first floor level shews that there was a lean-to, like a cloister ; and above the moulding are some arches of an intersecting arcade, one of which is pierced for a window, and to the east of this is a second window, also opening from the chapel.

Another room, also of two stages, is placed against the east wall, at right angles to the chapel. It was 16 feet 6 inches broad, and what remains is 48 feet long. The basement was barrel-vaulted, with lateral loops for air. The upper floor is too dilapidated to allow of sound speculation, but it may very probably have been the hall.

No kitchens have been identified.

Outside the curtain, towards the north, are the remains of what is described as an archway leading to the meadows. This seems to have been a spur-work, a long hollow wall descending from the curtain into the ditch, covering a deep hollow way on its east side, which is likely enough to have led to a postern, and probably afforded a communication by a water gate with the marsh. Nothing now remains but some vaults, and a fragment of overthrown wall.

There are some fragments of wall to the south-west of the Castle, remaining on the outer or lower face of the dam, which seem of the date of the walls generally, and which were probably intended to guard the dam, and especially the sluice.

Whatever may be the age of the earthworks of this Castle, it is clear that nearly the whole of the masonry is of one date, and of the Norman period. The great thickness of the wall, its rough but sound workmanship, and the absence of either portcullis or pointed arch, look early, while the fine-jointed ashlar, and the ornate character of the remaining windows, seem late in the style, and more

like the reign of the second than of the first Henry. There is no early pointed arch in the adjacent Minster, and the tall, stilted heads of the arches opening from the transepts into its central towers, shew that it was not employed by Bishop Roger, even where there seems most occasion for it. On the whole, besides, the historical evidence in favour of the Castle having been built in the first quarter of the 12th century is strong, and this conclusion, no doubt, is correct. It would seem that Bishop Roger, like some other great architects, was considerably in advance of his age, and produced a castle, which, in the hands of a lay baron at that period, would have been of a much more rude and less advanced description.

Sherborne, both town and Castle, are of pure English origin. There are British camps upon the hills around, and names, vocal in the British tongue, still cling to many of the distinctive features of the district, but of the Britons Sherborne itself bears no trace.

Sherborne, already an ecclesiastical foundation, became the seat of the bishoprick of that name during the reign of King Ine, early in the 8th century ; and Adhelm, who died in 735, a kinsman to the King, was the first bishop. The circumstances of the west, then and long afterwards, made a secure dwelling a necessary of life ; and the site of the Castle was, no doubt, selected for the episcopal dwelling, and, probably, by degrees fortified. The earth-works might well have been the work of *Æthelstan*, the seventh bishop, about 818, who took an active part in the wars against the Danes ; and is said himself to have been a leader in the bloody, but successful, combat with that people on the Parret, in 845. He died 867. Eadmund, his successor, was forced to continue in the same course, as did Werstan, the fourteenth bishop, who, as well as

Eadmund, fell in battle. The Minster was founded in 998, by Bishop Wesin; who, by consent of King Æthelred, for the then existing canons substituted Benedictine monks. On every account a local residence and a strong one must have been necessary.

The Manor and Hundred of Sherborne seem from the earliest periods to have been vested in the bishops. At Domesday the Bishop of Scireburne held Scireburne, and Queen Edith had held it, but before her Bishop Alwold.

For a time, from 1048, the see was called of Wiltshire, Ramsbury being then its seat, but its final translation was to Salisbury under Bishop Hermann, a German ecclesiastic, once Chaplain to the Confessor, who was Bishop before the Conquest, and held his seat till 1078. But he and his successor, Osmund de Seez, the first Norman bishop, though called of Sarum, retained their residence at Sherborne.

But whatever may have been the strength of the Sherborne Palace, it owes its reputation as a Norman stronghold to Bishop Roger who held the see from 1103 to 1139, was Lord Chief Justice, Lord Treasurer, and the trusted adviser of Henry I. Bishop Roger's character and actions as a statesman belong to English history. All that it is here necessary to say is that he was the builder of the strong Castles of Devizes, Malmesbury, and Sherborne, and at one time had charge of that of Old Sarum. Malmesbury he built in the cemetery of the monastery in despite of the monks, it was therefore probably wholly new; but Devizes and Sherborne, like old Sarum, were older sites, though they do not seem to have been previously fortified in the Norman manner.

Places so strong were naturally regarded with great jealousy by the Crown, and Malmesbury, Sherborne, and

Devizes, the Bishop's three castles, were besieged by Stephen in 1139, and fell after a severe siege. Once taken they continued to be vested in the Crown, and were held by various great lords as Constables during pleasure, and among them Bishop Poer condescended so to hold it in 1217-24.

In 1337, Edward III alienated Sherborne to Montacute Earl of Salisbury, but the usurpation borne from the sovereign was resisted from a subject, and Bishop Wyvil, emulous perhaps of his predecessors, *Æ*thelstan, Eadmund, and Werstan, went so far as to challenge the Earl to a wager of battle, to be fought out by their champions. These were actually appointed and a day fixed, when a compromise was brought about. The Bishop paid 2,500 marcs, and he recovered, and in 1375 died at, the Castle. With the Castle he no doubt regained also the demesne park which covered the ascending slopes to the south, and the tract known locally as Gainsborough.

From the time of Bishop Wyvil his successors held Sherborne undisturbed till the Reformation, when the Castle was granted, first to the Paulets by Edward VI, and afterwards by Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh, who built the adjacent house, and probably fitted up the Castle itself for a residence in the meantime. The estate was wrenched by chicane by James I from the son of Sir Walter, and finally it came to Digby Earl of Bristol, by whose collateral descendants in the female title it is still held.

Sherborne Castle had its full share of the troubles of the great rebellion. In 1642 it was held by the Marquis of Hertford for Charles I, and besieged by the Earl of Bedford for the Parliament, whose works were constructed against the north front.

In 1645 it was again attacked, and the wall was mined and breached. Sir Lewis Dives, who commanded for the King, made a gallant defence, but was forced finally to surrender, when the place was dismantled by the Parliament, and has since remained a ruin.

Mr. Clark's explanation was given at the different points which he described, and the effect was that no one present could fail to gain the clearest possible insight into the uses and history of the various ruins and earthworks which in different ages formed parts of the fortifications.

The PRESIDENT expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Clark for his most interesting address.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. Freeman to say something concerning Bishop Roger.

Mr. FREEMAN said that he would first tell the story of how Bishop Roger first gained promotion in the Church. When Henry, the English-born son of the Conqueror, before he was King, was marching about in Normandy with no very great train, he went to hear mass in a chapel in the suburbs of Caen. The poor clerk who was officiating saw the *Ætheling* come in, and he watched his opportunity, and got over the mass so quickly that Henry's followers hardly knew that he had began before he had ended. Henry said that he was the fittest chaplain for soldiers that he had ever seen, and at once took him into his favour. Those who have read the Constitutional History of Professor Stubbs will have seen what a man Roger was, and how much he had to do in the working out the system of administration begun by Henry I, and which was carried on by Henry II. Perhaps he was not in all points exactly a model Bishop. But, whatever he was in any other way, he was a very great minister and

a very great architect. His architectural works are specially commented on by William of Malmesbury, a man who had a keen eye for architectural matters. He marked the introduction of a new style of architecture by the Confessor, and he also marked Bishop Roger as bringing in something like a new style. He calls attention to the splendour of his work, and especially to the beauty of its masonry, “masonry so accurately laid that you would think the whole building was one stone.” Now, if this company will look at the work here, they will see that it is all fine work; it is quite different from the earliest Norman work; there are finer joints and far more elaborate ornaments. William of St. Carilef at Durham and Roger at Sherborne and elsewhere exercised a powerful influence on the architecture of their time. With regard to Norman architecture, it is a mistake always to suppose that the richest work is always the latest. A great deal depended on the man who built it. If you go to Durham and look at the eastern limb of the church and the transepts, any one would think that the transept was by far the older. It is really several years later. William of St. Carilef began the church; and after his death the monks carried it on in a style utterly inferior. Any one who walked in here, not knowing anything about the place, would think that this fine Norman work was later than the time of Roger. But it must have been built between 1109 and 1138. For 1138 was the time when Stephen seized Roger and his nephew the Bishop of Ely, and kept them fast until they gave up their castles. But, simply from the work itself, one would have thought that it belonged to the time of Henry II, rather than Henry I. This shows how far great architects like William and Roger were in advance of their times, and how long it

took smaller men to come up to them. In looking at these buildings, you should remember also that Roger built them in a time of profound peace. All the time of Henry I was a time of peace in England, and so men who had the will and the means could build freely without any great fear that what they built would be soon upset. What you see here is something more than a castle, something more than a place run up for defence only ; it is a fortified palace. Directly after Roger was seized came the time of confusion, "the nineteen years that we tholed for our sins." During that time men built up all those castles which were pulled down again as soon as Henry II came to the throne, because they had been set up without the King's leave. This castle was seized by the King, but it was not pulled down. There was no temptation to any one to destroy such a building as this was ; and, like Roger's other works, it remained as a model of style for later builders.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said that the Gate-house had originally a gabled roof, with four angle turrets ; and that, in the time of Elizabeth, the chimney was made out of one of these turrets. The long building he believed to be the Hall and Chapel combined. They had the same thing at Conway. It was not an uncommon thing for the chapel to be in a bay at the end of the hall, and screened off from it. As regards the rich window of the Chapel, Mr. Parker observed that the shaft and capital seemed to him to be of a date later than the time of Bishop Roger. There was something in what Mr. Freeman said about the genius of Bishop Roger being in advance of his time, but this seemed to him to be of a different character altogether, and he thought that it must be a somewhat later alteration.

The Society, by the kind permission of Mr. G. D. Wingfield Digby, then visited Sherborne Park and Lodge.

The Rev. R. DIGBY conducted the party through the house, and pointed out, and commented on, many of the valuable pictures which it contains. The most remarkable is the Procession of Queen Elizabeth, by Mark Gerrard, of Bruges. The figures are all likenesses, and those of Leicester, Lord Cobham, Lord Howard of Effingham, and many more may easily be made out. Mr. Digby said that there was an old dispute as to this picture and the one on the same subject at Melbury, which was the original, and which the replica, or copy. There was proof, however, that the Sherborne picture had been in the house before the Melbury picture had taken up its present place. In the same room there are portraits of Lady Southampton, and of John, Earl of Digby, who tried hard to bring about the Spanish match; he was made a dupe by Buckingham, but King James rewarded him by allowing him to buy Sherborne Castle in fee for a small sum. The library, Mr. Digby said, was fitted up by Horace Walpole. It contains a portrait of Kenelm Digby, by Vandyke. The books were chiefly collected by the last Earl of Bristol; of whom, it was said that, on the eve of true philosophy he chose astrology. The green drawing-room contains many pictures of the Digby family. The floor of the dairy is formed of a Roman tessellated pavement, which was discovered on Lenthay Common.

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A large number of ladies and gentlemen dined together at 6.30, at the Digby Hotel. After dinner a few toasts were given.

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At eight o'clock an

## Evening Meeting

was held in the Town Hall, and was well attended.

Mr. FREEMAN read a paper on "King Ine," which continued the paper which he read at Taunton, in 1872, and which is printed in Vol. XVIII of the Society's Journal. Mr. Freeman received the hearty thanks of the Society for this exhaustive paper. It will be found in Part II of this volume.

The Rev. W. BARNES next read a paper on "Bishop Ealdhelm," which is also printed in Part II. It is to be regretted that the lateness of the hour prevented any discussion on the moot points brought forward in this paper. As soon as the President had expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Barnes, the meeting broke up.

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## Excursion: Wednesday.

The members of the Society met about 10 a.m., in the churchyard of

### The Abbey Church.

Mr. FREEMAN addressed the meeting from the south-east corner of the churchyard. He said that in speaking of Sherborne Minster there was really nothing new for him to say, as the whole had been thoroughly described by Mr. Petit and Professor Willis. It must, he said, strike every one at once that here is a Perpendicular church, the outline of which is rather Norman

than Perpendicular. This is the main history of the building. It is a Norman church, rebuilt and recast, so that nearly all of it has become Perpendicular. But, besides that, you see by the remains of masonry that there have been some considerable buildings to the west. It would strike any one, at the first moment, that here we have a case of the double church, at once monastic and parochial, where the problem which was always turning up, that of reconciling the claims of the monks and the people, has been solved in a rather unusual way. The changes that have taken place with respect to that matter are very curious indeed ; but, before we come to that, let us look at the minster itself. You see at once that it is a cross church, not of the first rank, but of the second ; and, considering that it is a Norman building and keeps its Norman proportions with very little change, the nave strikes one as remarkably short. One would not have been surprised, taking the length of the Norman eastern limb, to find the nave stretching away a considerable distance to the west ; and one might be tempted to believe that this destroyed building stood on a part of the Norman nave to the west. But here is a Norman doorway in the west front ; it is therefore plain that the nave did not go further, and that the building at the west was strictly an addition, and did not supplant any earlier building. You may remember that there are two names, one in the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century, and another in the twelfth, which are specially connected with the place ; these are Ealdhelm and the famous Roger of Salisbury. Now there is no reason to doubt that this church stands on the site of the church of Ealdhelm, which William of Malmesbury himself had seen, and which he tells us was a wonderful work. William of Malmesbury, with the new

church before him, did not altogether despise the old one, a fact which must be borne in mind. In 1122 the Abbey of Sherborne and the Priory of Horton were joined together ; and then, no doubt, Ealdhelm's church was pulled down and Roger's built instead. No doubt Roger was the founder, and probably the architect, of the Norman church. I cannot doubt that the dimensions of the nave were determined by those of the original church of Ealdhelm. I see no remains of the earliest building. Here is nothing earlier than Roger's time, 1122. But bear in mind that, as it is a remarkable thing for a church of the eighth century to be standing now, it was almost as remarkable for a church of the eighth century to be standing in the twelfth. Ealdhelm's church lived through a great many periods of church building. It lived through the days of Eadgar, Cnut, the Confessor, and the Conqueror—theirs were all great church-building times—and it lived on into the reign of Henry I. Then you get the present minster. It starts afresh as an abbey at that date. Then we come to this building at the west, built no doubt late in the fourteenth century. Thereby hangs the very curious story which is to be seen in all the Histories of Sherborne. Professor Willis gives it at full length. You read that there was a dispute between the monks and the parishioners in 1436. Up to that time the nave of the minster was "the chief parish church." Those words would seem to imply that there was some other building belonging to the parish ; and, according to Professor Willis, this western building called the Chapel of All-hallows had been built up at the west end of the monastic church, as a chapel belonging to the parish, though the parish still kept some right in the nave of the minster. It often happened that the constructive

nave of a minster was the parish church, while the eastern part only belonged to the monks or canons; and this is the reason why, in many cases, the eastern part of the church has gone, while the nave is still standing. If you want to see the whole thing in perfection, to see the monastic church and the parish church absolutely untouched, you can do so at Dunster. But, if you would do so, you must make haste, for Dunster is being “restored,” which means being destroyed. They are going to move the high altar of the parish church from its old place, and stick it up against the eastern wall, thus destroying the whole history of the building. Sherborne Church has passed through many changes. As to the modern restoration, Professor Willis seems to have approved of it in all points but one, namely, the treatment of the south porch. In the fifteenth century they made the upper story of the porch to fit on to the aisle. They made an addition to the Norman porch, and carried a parapet round it to match that of the aisle. Then come the modern restoration people, and they find out that the Perpendicular is all very bad, and ought to be swept away; and so the perfect and harmonious design into which the fifteenth century people worked the whole building is smashed, and the porch made as it is now. That change both Mr. Petit and Professor Willis have spoken very strongly against, and I think anybody who cared for the porch would so speak. But in every other respect Professor Willis speaks well of the restoration; and when Professor Willis speaks well of a restoration, you may be sure there is not much fault to be found with it. Now we come to this Chapel of Allhallows. It appears that, after its building, the parishioners still kept some right in the nave of the minster. In 1435, or thereabouts, a great question arose between the parishioners

and the monks. The parishioners, it seems, had set up a font in the Chapel of Allhallows ; this the monks looked on as a breach of their privileges ; they held that all children born within the parish of Sherborne ought to be baptized in the nave of the minster. There was a quarrel also about another thing. The monks had narrowed a door which led from Allhallows into the minster. The Bishop of Salisbury was appealed to, and he came down and gave judgement, first, that the new font was to be destroyed—so far, that was in favour of the monks—but he also ordered that the door should be made the same width as before. That order does not seem to have been obeyed, for the original Norman doorway is there, much wider than the Perpendicular one which has been made within it. You can easily see what this Chapel of Allhallows was like. It was a good sized building, with a nave and aisle ; a choir was not likely to be made within it till after what happened next. For the dispute between the monks and the parishioners went on, and it would seem that the parish priest was very zealous on the side of his parishioners. A secular priest, of course, would be more at enmity with the monks than any layman. This zealous priest got up on the roof of Allhallows, and shot “a fiery arrow” towards the tower ; the eastern part of the church caught fire, and was burned down, and rebuilt soon after 1437. It would seem that after this the parishioners must have lost their right in the nave of the minster, and Allhallows must have become the only parish church. When the monasteries were suppressed, it often happened that the monastic church came into the hands of some one who was not bent upon destruction ; sometimes he gave, and sometimes he sold, the church to the parishioners. In this case the parishioners bought the church

of the grantee, and, having got so much finer a building into their hands, they let the old Allhallows go to ruin, and took possession of the monastic church for themselves. Such then is the general history of the building. You can mark the great height of the clerestory ; the original height of the Norman church can be seen by the transepts, which were not raised. The pinnacles are small, and this falls in with the general look of the building. The tower, though Perpendicular, has something about it of the air of the Norman tower which it supplanted, and whose proportions it seems on the whole to have kept. The monastic buildings lie on the north of the church.

On entering the church, Mr. FREEMAN observed that the church of Ealdhelm had utterly vanished. Of the church of Roger, he said, we have but a small portion; the whole was largely recast in the fifteenth century. But it is plain that Roger built a Norman church of the ordinary type, and put the stalls of the monks under the central tower. For we can see that the eastern and western arches were given as little projection as possible. Of these the fifteenth century people cut away the eastern arch altogether, but they left the western. If you compare the western arch with those to the north and south, you will see how much wider the one is than the other. It is not that the tower is not square ; the difference is in the projection of the piers. On the north and south sides the piers have great projection, consequently the arch is much narrower ; and some shift or other had to be made, in order to bring the springings and the tops of the arches of different widths to range with one another. If it had been done a generation after Roger, they would probably have made the northern and southern arches pointed, and have left the eastern and western arches, which are wider, still

round. Here the arches were brought to the same level by stilting the narrower pair. This shews that, although Roger was introducing a new style, he had not got as far as to use pointed arches. His eastern limb must have been about the same size as the present one, of three bays. In the greater churches it is commonly of four bays ; Norwich, and Peterborough, and Ely all have four. Here, in a somewhat smaller church, there were three. Whether there was an apse or a square end, I cannot say. Most of the churches of that date had apses, but some had square ends, like Old Sarum. The transepts were left by the remodellers of the fifteenth century at their original height. At the east end of the transepts we might have expected to find one or more small apses, but Roger does not seem to have made them. At the eastern end of the north transept he seems to have made a square substitute for an apse. Next some thirteenth century additions were made to the church. The Lady Chapel was now added. You will understand that the procession-path ran round the high altar, as it always did. Go round behind the high altar, and you will see that it led to the Lady Chapel, which is now taken into the school buildings. In the thirteenth century another little chapel was also added on the other side of the aisle. Go there, and you will see a large piece of the outside of Roger's work ; and you will see how very like it is to his work in the Castle. The addition of the chapel has now brought this outside work within the church. Besides these additions, no great change seems to have been made till after the disputes of the fifteenth century. Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries the body of the building remained much as it was first built, though additions were made at both ends. But after the disturbance in the

fifteenth century the whole minster was rebuilt. Now I had always taken for granted that in the eastern part of the church the Norman pillars were cased by the Perpendicular builders, in somewhat the same way as at Gloucester ; and I had always fancied that the extraordinary bigness of these piers was due to their having the Norman piers within them. It struck me that a builder of the Perpendicular period would not have made his piers of that bigness, unless he was driven to do so by some special cause. It is not so at Bath or at St. Mary Redcliff. The general style of this church is very like St. Mary Redcliff. Bath is later, and more meagre. The principal difference is in the size of the pillars. I had therefore always supposed that they were the Norman pillars cased. However, Professor Willis says that it was not so. At all events, mark how the style is influenced by the great size of the piers. The great height of the clerestory comes out strongly, but not so strongly as at Christchurch. In that church, to walk from the nave into the choir is like walking into a college chapel. Then comes, somewhat later, the building of the nave. At the first respond on each side you may see a great piece of the Norman pillar. Professor Willis holds that the pillars of the nave are simply the Norman pillars cased. Above the string-course they built freely after their own plan. Everybody must admire the vaulting of the choir, of the finest fan-tracery. Now bear generally in mind the history of the church :—The choir, of course, was under the tower ; then, at one time, the parish was in possession of the western limb, which afterwards the monks got back again ; then came the rebuilding of the eastern part ; then the rebuilding of the western ; leaving only those small remains of the original church which are seen under the

tower. And also bear in mind that this minster that we stand in now came at the Dissolution into the hands of the Crown ; that it was granted out, like a barn or anything else, and that it became a parish church, because the parishioners here had, as they had at Tewkesbury, the public spirit to buy it ; whereas at Bath the parishioners had not the public spirit to buy the church when it was offered to them. Therefore Bath Abbey stood roofless and empty for a good many years, until Bishop Montagu bought it and set it up again. So much depended upon the character of the men into whose hands the monastic churches fell. In this case the grantee, if not disposed to give, was at least disposed to sell, and not to destroy.

After a vote of thanks to Mr. Freeman for his interesting remarks, the party spent some time in the church.

### *The Abbey Buildings*

were next visited, under the guidance of Mr. R. HERBERT CARPENTER, who first read a paper on their former and present uses, and then led the party round the buildings. The substance of the explanation, which Mr. Carpenter offered to the Society and which he has revised since the meeting, was as follows :—

The “King’s School” was founded by letters patent bearing date May 13th, 1550, the fourth year of King Edward VI, and rather more than eleven years after the resignation of the Abbey by Abbot Barnstaple, (it is, however, doubtful whether the first school founded by the King was here at Sherborne, or at Bury St. Edmunds) ; he endowed his foundation with lands and houses belonging to the lately suppressed chantries at Martock, Ilminster, Thornton, and Lytchett Matravers, and arranged that its revenues should be administered by twenty inhabitants of

the parish of Sherborne, as a Corporation with a common seal, and to them was given the right of making statutes for the school, subject to the consent of the Bishop of Bristol for the time being.

In 1550 the first head master, Mr. Myddelton, was appointed, but it is uncertain in what buildings the school was opened, as it was not until 1554 that Sir John Horsey, of Clifton Maybank, conveyed to the Master and Brethren of S. John's House (who were ex-officio Governors of the King's School), the Lady Chapel, and the Chapel of S. Mary-le-Bow, together with the Abbey dormitory, Chapter-house, Prior's house, and some other buildings, in order that they might be utilised for the purposes of the new school.

It is a subject of great interest to try and determine as nearly as possible what was the original plan of these abbey buildings, some of which still remain, while others are destroyed; and after careful study of them, and by comparing them with the plans of other Benedictine Monasteries, I believe that the block plan which I have drawn as nearly as possible represents a restoration of them, for the information about Benedictine Abbeys is very meagre compared with that about Cistercian Abbeys, the plans of which can be restored with almost certainty. I must here gratefully acknowledge the very valuable notes and suggestions sent to me by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott and Mr. E. Sharpe, by which I have been enabled in a measure to clear up not a few difficulties and to throw some light on disputed points.

The principal buildings of a Benedictine Abbey were always grouped round the cloister garth, which was as a rule on the south side of the church; at Sherborne, however, the cloister is on the north, as it is also at Canterbury,

Lincoln, St. David's, Chester, Gloucester, Buildwas, Milton Abbas, Tintern, Magdalen College, Oxford, and in some continental instances, as Pontigny.

Here, in the centre of the garth, was a fountain within the hexagonal groined structure known as "The Conduit," now standing in the town ; it was also used as at Durham and Canterbury for a lavatory.

The cloister had on each side eight bays of groining, with six windows in each alley into the garth. It was of 15th century construction, built into walls of an earlier date. The south wall I consider is Norman ; it forms the north wall of the north aisle of the church, and is, together with the lower part of the west wall, the porches, the tower piers, south transept, and part of the north wall of the choir aisle, the only remains of the church built by Bishop Roger ; for I am unable to accept the theory advanced by Professor Willis and adopted by Mr. E. Freeman, that the Norman nave piers are cased up within the 15th century piers, my reason being that there is not sufficient height for the rise of a semicircular arch from them between the two string courses, of which portions remain in the western tower pier ; the lower one is the level of the abacus, while the upper one was continuous over the tops of what must have been low small arches of greater number and placed closer together than the later 15th century piers and arches are. The north walk of the cloister abutted on a Norman sub-structure which was built in a line not parallel with the church, and thus resulted the irregular plan of the court. The cloisters were groined in fan groining, very similar to the western chapel of the south transept, the springing stones, wall ribs and shafts remain more or less mutilated in the south and west walls, and it will be noticed these springers and bosses are executed in soft Tisbury stone,

while the rest is in harder Ham Hill or Sherborne stone. The destruction of the cloisters probably is due to Fairfax ; and I may here mention that in the contemplated new works it is our intention to rebuild the western alley.

On the east side of the cloister, and forming a continuation of the north transept, stood the dormitory of the monks. This invariably adjoined the church, for the convenience of those attending the night services ; stairs being often found existing, as at Tintern, into the transept from the dormitory itself.

Under the dormitory, or projecting eastwards from it, would be the chapter-house, probably square or oblong in plan, entered from a vestibule on its west side. There would also be the parlour calefactory and monks' day room with the slype or passage to the cemetery ; this slype still exists, and it is of 13th century date (its western end is now blocked up by a buttress built in 1560) ; over it is a portion of the dormitory with a single light window, the outside of which is modernized.

Beyond this dormitory block, eastwards, it is said the Prior's house and garden were, and there is little doubt the infirmary also, as at Canterbury, Winchester, Peterborough, Westminster, and Ely, but of it no traces exist. We find that at Canterbury the Prior lived east of the cloister near the "Green yard," and at Gloucester his lodge was on the west side ; at Sherborne, owing perhaps to the parish church of All Hallows being on the west of the abbey church, the eastern side would be more convenient ; at Ely the Prior's house and chapel are west of the cloister.

We now come to the consideration of the buildings on the north side of the cloisters, and here we find a large low block (now used as studies) with its north side of 15th century date ; the east and south are modern ; there is a fine

old chimney with panels carved with the symbols of the Evangelists, and there are two stories of two-light windows, and a very fine doorway with canopy and niches above it. This, there is no doubt, was the Abbot's lodge, and the doorway was his northern entrance ; on the left of it, in the projecting octagonal block were the stairs to the upper floor (there were not originally so many windows as now), and on its roof are some fine gurgoyles like those of the Abbey church. In some instances the Abbot's lodge adjoined the church, but at Tynemouth it is north-west, and at Eastby and Castle Acre it is north of the north transept. The great chimney was that of the Abbey kitchen.

Next to the northern entrance there was (according to Hutchings), before the restoration of 1853, the original porter's doorway and hatch remaining ; after passing by this, the doorway to the western alley of the cloister would be immediately opposite.

Next to the Abbot's lodge, and westward of it, is a very fine building of the 15th century date, on a substructure (before alluded to) of late Norman work. Much of this building is now modern, and is consecrated as the Chapel, and its proportions are the same as they were before (excepting the two westernmost bays, which are a more modern addition) ; but at least four bays and one of the low pillars of the substructure are ancient, not having been rebuilt, and the magnificent roof was simply replaced on the new walls. The windows are all modern, and formerly there must have been some building on its north side, the ancient doorway to which is carefully replaced as before on the upper level. This Norman substructure or crypt would have been used for cellars, malt house or storage. At Ely these substructures are most extensive and could not well have been used for any other than such like purposes.

Now concerning the former use of the grand hall over the crypt I can speak almost confidently, but will consider it together with the buildings on the west side of the cloister. I will here draw attention to the plan, by which it will be seen that between this building and the dormitory there is a space almost equal in length to the north alley of the cloister. Now at Chester and Gloucester the refectory occupied this position, at Westminster it was in the same relative position to the cloister, and at Ely, it is likely that, it either adjoined, or is partially included in the present deanery. I therefore am disposed to place the refectory here, supposing that it was destroyed with the dormitory for the sake of its materials, as it stood on the ground conveyed by Sir John Horsey to the school, while those buildings which now remain doubtless owe their preservation to their not having been so conveyed.

We now come to the buildings on the west side of the cloister, and here we find another fine 15th century hall, on a substructure of undoubtedly 13th century date.<sup>1</sup> This substructure was reached by a small doorway (now blocked up) from the Norman crypt before spoken of. This block was not taken down and rebuilt, but the windows were repaired and added to in number, and the present flying buttresses were added, as well as two small ones on the west side. We therefore see this building as it was—except for the removal at some period of a small adjoining block on its west side. It has a very fine roof, somewhat similar to that of the other hall; but it is curious to notice that the three northern bays are of simpler detail than the others, and may indicate the former existence of a partition. The great flight of steps to this upper hall are modern, and the only ancient stairs to it which still exist are in a circular

(1). There were before the works of 1853 some lancet windows in the north wall.

turret at its south-east angle ; there is a doorway at the foot of the stairs, opening into the southern alley of the cloister, and also a doorway into a former upper storey of this cloister. The stairs are lighted by what appears to be a 13th century window.

This building has been called “ Refectory,” “ Hospitium,” “ Guesten Hall,” and “ Domus Conversorum,”<sup>2</sup> so it is im-

(2). For the following extracts I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, they bear upon the position in a monastery, of lay brothers, “ conversi,” and servants :—By the LXVI. Chapter of the Rule, “ Monasterium ita debet construi ut omnia necessaria, i. e. aqua, molendinum, hortus, pistrinum vel artes diversæ intra Monasterium exerceantur.” By the Council of Aix 816, rubric 23, “ Servitores non ad unam mensam sed in propriis locis refectionem Fratrum reficiantur quibus eadem lectis quæ Fratribus recitata est recitetur.” By rubric 29, “ Novices during probation served the Guests in Cella Hospitum,” and by rubric 3, “ in coquinâ in pistrino et in ceteris artium officinis propriis manibus monachi omnes operentur.” And it is recorded that Theodanar Abbot of Monte Casino told Charlemagne “ Pauci aut omnino nulli istius temporis monachi student more Patrum labori aut exercitu operis,” shewing the necessity of lay brothers. At Westminster the servitors dined “ sub gradu servitorum ” in the refectory, after the monks had dined, with the kitchener or sub-kitchener sitting at the head of the table, or else a priest or deacon. The novices sat in hall at the two lowest tables. As regards “ conversi,” the chronicle of Evesham terms them “ Fratres vocati conversi,” and they had charge of the Manors of the Vale. At Abingdon the conversi acted as thuriblers in the choir. At Meaux in the 13th century, it is recorded that the conversi proved troublesome, and the Abbot sent them to “ officio servientium custodiis porcorum animalium !” and in the 14th century “ Conversi omnes de monasterio defecerunt,” the monks taking their place and duties. At Canterbury the servants had their meals after the convent in Hall. At S. Gall the places of meals were the Refectory, Infirmary, Guest House, and Abbot’s Lodge, the monks having one dormitory and one refectory. At Evesham, Westminster, and Bury St. Edmunds there was a long list of “ Servientes qui monachis ministrare tenentur.” At Rochester the servants included, the porter, two cooks, two butlers, tailors, laundrymen, &c., these were in the Bishop’s gift. (Angl. Sacr. I. 359). We may gather from these extracts that the conversi or lay brothers acted as delegates of the monks in their duties, that they possibly dined in the same refectory as the monks, no other being mentioned, but had their own separate dormitory as in Cistercian Monasteries. Also that the servants were a distinct class, had defined duties, and that they dined in the refectory after the monks.

portant to try to arrive at its correct designation. Referring to other Benedictine houses and to Cistercian houses, we find at Chester in the time of the Dissolution, the buildings on the west side were described as "Abbot's Hall," and "Stranger's Hall." At St. Alban's the "Abbot's Lodge," and "Guest Houses," adjoined the West Alley. At Norwich there was a door of the so-called "Guest Hall" in the West Alley. At Winchester the "Stranger's Hall" was on this side. At S. Gall there are three lines of buildings on the west side : 1. The cellarage. 2. Guest house, offices and workshops : and 3. The servants' buildings. At Battle, on the west side is the dormitory of the "conversi;" so also at Fountains and Beaulieu.

In Cistercian Monasteries, such as Fountains, we find the "Domus conversorum" stood on the west side of the cloisters, and that there was on the west side of the "Domus" a projecting building which formed a porter's lodge and staircase ; there are the roof lines of such a building at Sherborne, but on the other hand the building here is of such grand proportions and has such fine windows and a roof of so noble a design, that it is difficult to believe that it was only a dormitory of the conversi, but, if it is not the "Domus conversorum," we must consider it as the "Guesten Hall," though we should have to put aside the probability and tradition that the building near the east gateway (which was sold for £10 to the town) was the Guest House and almonry, instead of being the almonry alone, as it would in that case be.

As an additional support to the first theory, the other great hall near the Abbot's Lodge being certainly neither "Guest House" nor "Domus conversorum," nor refectory, I should without hesitation pronounce it to be the Abbot's Hall, for there is a fine example of this hall at Battle

Abbey which is in plan singularly like Sherborne; there the Abbot's Hall, 51 ft. by 37 ft., is on a basement, together with the solar, 50 ft. by 22 ft., reached from the porch by a staircase, identical in plan to that which existed here, and adjoining these on a substructure was almost without doubt the "Domus conversorum;" the Guest House at Battle is a detached building and near the gateway as at Ely.

We now come to the remaining or southern alley of the cloister, which had an upper storey, reached from a doorway opening out of the circular stair turret, before described. It is possible that this was the library, though if a piscina is in its original position, it indicates a chapel over a part of it. At Westminster, Chester, Salisbury, and Wenlock there are rooms over the cloister.

There is no door from this cloister into the church, *possibly* the arched recess on the inside of the north aisle may have been one, but if so, the groining of the cloister must have been specially treated on a corbel, or otherwise the shaft would stand in the centre of the doorway; there was, before the restoration of the nave, a doorway in the west wall of the north transept; it is now blocked up, but I am inclined to think there must have been an ancient doorway there, as at Ely for instance. It will be noticed that the four-light second Pointed windows in the north aisle wall come below the levels of the groining, but these are modern, and were put in by Mr. R. C. Carpenter; one in place of an old and similar window which must have been blocked up by the upper story over the cloister; the three great buttresses too are modern additions.

There was evidence before the work of 1853, that this upper storey was as high as the adjoining building, for the cornice returned just over where the wall joined the other

at right angles ; this cornice *now* runs on to the south gable, therefore it is important that this alteration should be noticed.

The ancient Early English Lady Chapel was of three bays in length, with chapels on each side of one bay, similar to the choir aisle, they were separated from the ambulatory by stone screens, parts of which remain. The fan groining of one chapel, and the western bay of the Lady Chapel, with its rich painted and gilded carving, are still perfect, but the rest has disappeared ; for about eight years after Sir John Horsey conveyed this to the school, the governors converted the chapels into a head master's house, building new outer walls ; the south wall is surmounted by the royal arms, below which are the arms of Bishop Jewel of Salisbury, Horsey of Clifton-Maybank, Lewston of Lewston, Mullins of West Hall, and Thornhill of Thornhill.<sup>3</sup>

In 1670 the school room was built, and the block of buildings next to it.

In 1835 the block of buildings known as the “Bell Buildings” was erected.

Up to 1853 these buildings, and some mean modern erections against the present vestry and north aisle of the choir, served for school purposes, but in that year the late Earl Digby presented to the King's School the block of abbey buildings which I have described, then used as silk mills. These buildings had been grievously mutilated ;

(3). At one time it was in the mind of Mr. G. D. W. Digby to rebuild the lost bays of the Lady Chapel, and restore it, and its adjoining chapels, as a Morning Prayer Chapel, and plans were prepared for it by the late Mr. Slater. The house was conveyed to Mr. Digby in consideration of a sum of money which was expended in providing the new house for the head master.

floors had been inserted at the level of the wall plates, and the roofs cut through for dormer windows.

The restoration of these ancient buildings was put into the hands of my father, the late R. C. Carpenter, and about £5,000 was expended on the work. The western building became the school room, and a new outside stairs was erected to reach it, and three massive flying buttresses were then built, and the lower storey was converted into class rooms, with new windows inserted. The Abbot's hall was rebuilt, as the chapel with the crypt below it, but there was left intact the original pier and bays of groining before-mentioned, and also the ancient doorway on the north side. There were no ancient windows in the crypt, the present ones are fac-similes of those in Boxgrove Abbey.

The Abbot's Lodge was converted into studies, and, excepting the north wall, was entirely rebuilt, and the fine entrance doorway was very carefully reproduced.

With regard to the subsequent new works, there was erected a new head master's house, dormitories, day room, and library for boys, which cost about £4,500, from Mr. Slater's designs, and at the same time some alterations were made in the old "Bell Buildings," to convert them into offices for the new buildings.

In 1865 the chapel and cloisters were extended two bays towards the west, the details of the original work being reproduced.

In 1870 the new class room block was erected from the designs of Mr. Slater and myself; it forms the west side of the new quadrangle, of which the chapel, school room, and Allhallow's Church are the other sides; this building is also used for science and art purposes.

During the past year some old factory buildings were

converted into laboratories, music room, museum, and workshops ; a new swimming bath has been built, and the road diverted in order to prepare for the great works to be undertaken in 1876 and onwards.

And now, after having traced back the history of the Abbey from the present time to the 11th century, and having made ourselves acquainted with its various buildings, we must feel that its history is a most exceptional one, for it was anciently a centre of learning and education, and it still remains as the great central school of the west of England, with hardly a break in the continuity of its existence ; its ancient buildings even still remain and serve for a kindred purpose, as of old ; its grand church, too, is as perfect as on that still observed Monday when the masons left their work complete.

From the suppressed abbeys some cathedral foundations sprung, and to them Oxford and Cambridge owe much ; most of them are in ruins, but by their decay they testify to that mistaken policy of destroying instead of reforming and adapting them to the educational wants of later and more enlightened ages. That policy did not prevail at Sherborne, and for that reason we must value those buildings which join so many centuries of thought and learning to us.

Mr. PARKER disagreed with some of Mr. Carpenter's opinions, and more especially considered that he was mistaken in what he said about the Domus Conversorum and the Abbot's Hall. The party passed somewhat rapidly through the buildings, and little discussion took place. The Vicarage which was next visited is a pretty Perpendicular building. It has been much altered and rearranged to suit modern convenience. It once, as Mr. Parker

pointed out, contained a fine hall of the height of the whole building.

### The Alms House,

or the Hospital of St. John, is a building of the middle of the 15th century. The present chapel is only the chancel of the older chapel. The western part is now turned into a hall, with a dormitory above it. This hall and dormitory are together the height of the present chapel or *sacrarium*, and are divided off by a screen. This arrangement enabled the sick brethren to see the elevated host, and to join in the devotion of those who were in health without leaving their beds.

Mr. PARKER remarked that the seats in the present chapel cumbered it sadly, and were much out of place, as it was not designed for a congregation, however small, but only for the officiating priest.

Mr. DICKINSON said that in some nunneries he had seen the same arrangement, and that then the upper storey was used by the nuns.

In one of the rooms there is a powerfully painted triptych, representing three of the miracles of our Lord. It is said that it was executed by an Italian painter, resident in England, expressly for this building.

Rev. W. HUNT considered that it was earlier than the building, and put it down to some Tuscan artist of the earliest part of the 15th century. He remarked on the connexion between England and Florence during the reign of Edward III, and the effect which this connexion had in calling out a taste for the art of painting in England.

Almost exactly at one o'clock the party to the number of 150 left for the first Excursion, and made a halt first at

## Bradford Abbas Church.

MR. CARPENTER said that this church was given to the abbot of Sherborne by a Bull of Eugenius III, and that after the Dissolution the right of presentation passed to Sir John Horsey, of Clifton. In the north aisle are a piscina and a hagioscope, and in the south aisle a chantry chapel. The roof is a curious and ungraceful mass of timber, ornamented with the roses of York and Lancaster. There was a fine old stone rood-screen, which has been much tampered with of late years ; the lower part only is in its original state.

MR. PARKER said that it was a strange thing that the squint commanding the high-altar was blocked up, while that which commanded the south aisle altar was still open. It was a fine church of the 15th century. The tower was especially worthy of notice. It was of a Somersetshire type, divided into four compartments. Two of the images on the western side of the tower have escaped Puritan destruction, the central image is probably the patron of the church, though it seems to have a crowned head. The churchyard cross is fine and unusually perfect. Two corbels of the north side of the chancel seem to represent a king and queen. On the south side the chantry chapel is rich and uncommon. Over the doorway is a pretty niche. The gargoyles are grotesque and various. The font Mr. Parker observed to be raised too high, and he strongly recommended that it should be lowered.

At a distance of less than a mile from this church stands the

## Manor House of Clifton Maybank,

or Maubank. This house has been much mutilated. The remaining wing was, Mr. Parker said, built by the Horsey

family in the reign of Henry VII. An oriel window, decorated in the lower part with boldly-cut quatrefoils, adorns one of the gables.

Rev. F. BROWN said that this was the original Manor House of the Horseys, who inherited it from the Mau-banks. The will of John Horsey, dated 1521, requested that the testator might be buried in the Church of *Eatminster*, and remembered there in prayer continually. His son, Sir John Horsey, obtained a grant of the Abbey Church and some of the lands of Sherborne, and sold the church to the parishioners for £320 ; he also sold some of the abbey lands to the governors of the new school. He was succeeded by a second and a third Sir John Horsey. All three were buried in the Sherborne Abbey Church. The last Sir John married one of the Howards of Bindon, and, as a second wife, Lady Dorothy Speke. He died without issue, and his property went to a distant relation, Sir Ralph Horsey of Hertfordshire. After some years the property passed to the Harveys. The whole Horsey family came to decay, and nothing certain is known of them. There are persons of the name living in Martin in Wiltshire.

Dr. GOODFORD said that there were Horseys now living in Clifton.

Rev. W. HUNT pointed out the terrace surrounding the bowling green and pleasure ground.

Mr. J. BATTEN observed that Clifton was interesting from its connexion with one of the Danish ravages in this country, recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The Danes, in the year 1001, appear to have landed on the Hampshire coast, and after several engagements in that county they went west into Devonshire, where they burned Teignton and other towns. The Chronicle then goes on

—“And they went thence to Exmouth so that they proceeded upwards in one course until they came to Pen—and there Cole the King’s high-reve and Edsy the King’s reve went against them with the forces which they were able to gather together, and they were there put to flight, and there were many slain, and the Danish-men had possession of the place of carnage. And the morning after they burned the village of Pen and at Clifton and also many goodly towns which we are unable to name and then went again east until they came to the Isle of Wight.” Another text of the Chronicle, speaking of the same battle, says:—“There was collected a vast force of the people of Devon and of the people of Somerset, and they then came together at Pen, and, so soon as they joined battle, then the people gave way, and there they [the Danes] made great slaughter, and then they rode over the land.” Gibson (in his notes to Camden) and Collinson, both erroneously, Mr. Batten thought, fix the scene of this battle at Pen near Wincanton, now called Pen-Selwood. This Pen is no doubt the “Peonna” of the battle with the Bretwallas in 658 ; and the later battle, in 1016, is expressly recorded to have been fought at Pen near Gillingham (which is in the immediate neighbourhood of Pen-Selwood), and these writers, he imagined, hastily concluded that the intermediate one also occurred at the same place. But, had they paid more attention to the account, they would have seen that the battle field of 1001 must have been Pen near a village of Clifton—so near that the conquerors were able to reach and burn that village the next morning in their one course eastward ; and, moreover, that it must have been a place not far from the confines of Devon, as the men of that county were collected in great numbers to assist in the defence. It

might also have occurred to them that the Pen of 1016 was said to be near Gillingham to distinguish it from the Pen of 1001, which was sufficiently identified by its contiguity to Clifton. Gibson, in his edition of the Chronicle, so far rectifies the error, that in the index of places he fixes Pen as four miles distant from Clifton, but does not mention two villages of that name. Whereupon Hutchins, in his account of Clifton—having his eye towards Gillingham—states roundly, “it is a mistake it being nearly twenty,” and adds, “This looks as if there was a place of the same name near Pen, but we do not find it in any of the maps.” Now, if he had tried the converse case, and looked for Pen near Clifton, or had walked to the top of this field, and asked a native the name of the commanding hill lying about four miles southwest of him, he would have found it was *Pen Hill*; and that sheltered under it was Pen Village—now called *Pendomer*, from its ancient lords, the Domeras or Dummers. For these reasons Mr. Batten submitted that the battle of 1001 was fought at Pendomer, and not at Penselwood.

Dr. GOODFORD spoke of the panelled work of the Manor House, which, he said, had been carried away to Montacute, where it now forms a screen.

The church of Clifton stood outside the gate of the Manor House; it has now quite disappeared.

### Melbury House,

the seat of Lord Ilchester, was next visited. The party assembled in the library, a handsome room, which has lately been built in the form of a college hall, under the direction of Mr. Salvin. Here Mr. Parker first read some quotations concerning the history of the house from Leland and Coker, and one from Hutchins written by

the late Earl in 1858. From these it appeared that there was now no building left of earlier date than the 15th century.

Mr. PARKER explained the plan of the house, from a drawing prepared by Mr. Holderness, the clerk of the works. He said that the form was that of three limbs of a cross—the stem wanting. The plan seems to be unique. The lower part of the tower is square, and contains a stone staircase, with a peculiar, long, narrow window in the angle ; which is scarcely seen, and yet gives light enough. The upper part of the tower is octagonal, with a lantern chamber at the top. The way in which the change from the square to the octagon is managed, and the peculiar and picturesque room with the squinches across the angles, and an original fire-place, is very ingenious and clever. Some of the offices are of the time of James I, with imitations of the original gables and bay windows. Large additions were made to the house in the reign of Queen Anne. They run parallel to the original front of the house, and are of the same length.

The house contains a fine collection of paintings by Rembrandt, Canaletti, Salvator Rosa, and Rubens ; also a noteworthy picture painted by Hogarth. The replica of Queen Elizabeth's progress hangs in the dining-room.

In a slight hollow near the house is

### *Melbury Sampford Church.*

It is cruciform in shape, and of very small size. It is of the reign of Henry VIII.

Mr. PARKER said that the tower over the crossing was once open to the church as a lantern. Lord Ilchester proposes to restore this feature, and to add another bay to the nave, which is at present shorter than the choir. It is possible that the church is of a little earlier date than the

house—the material is different, and the work is rather more rude and plain. The church is full of canopied and other tombs. There is a small statue by Chantry in the chancel, and some well-cut woodwork of the Renaissance age.

The drive home was through the Blackmore Vale, and, on the way, a visit was paid to

### *Yetminster Church.*

On the outside of the building are many consecration crosses, most of them very perfect ; one is placed on the apex of the west window, which is a very unusual position. The church is perfectly unrestored. It has a handsomely-painted, but decaying wooden roof, and is full of mouldering oak pews.

Mr. PARKER pointed out traces of a very large rood loft. This loft, platform, or gallery evidently stretched over the whole of the eastern bay of the nave, and of the two side aisles. There are traces of a wooden staircase to it having wound round the north-east column of the nave, the stone of which has been cut away in places in order to fit the staircase to it. There were three altars upon this loft. One in the centre, with two windows to give it light over the chancel arch ; the one at the south end had one window, and that at the north two windows. These altars at the ends were doubtless chantry altars. The central altar was probably dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. There were two other chantry altars under the rood loft. The Epistle and Gospel were often read from the loft.

The eastern compartment of the nave roof has been plastered and white-washed by the zeal of churchwardens ; the walls of the little chancel have also been coloured in a fearful and wonderful manner by other hands.

The party were provided with refreshments by the kindness of the Vicar. Sherborne was reached at about seven o'clock, and a large company dined together at the Digby Hotel.

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## The Evening Meeting

was thinly attended.

Rev. W. HUNT said that he had received a paper from Professor Buckman on the geology of the district, and, he was sorry to say that, severe indisposition prevented the writer from being with them that evening. With the sanction of the President, he begged to hand the paper to the Rev. H. Winwood, and begged him to read it, either in whole or in part.

Rev. H. WINWOOD stated the general line taken in the paper. He then took occasion to complain that too little attention was paid by the secretary in charge of the annual excursion to the interests of those who especially cared for Natural History, while everything was arranged to suit the tastes of the Archæological section. He considered that it was most lamentable that the Society should have thus been led to neglect visiting the Inferior Oolite Sands near Professor Buckman's house.

Rev. W. HUNT explained that his colleague, Mr. Malet, and himself were anxious that the Natural History section should be as prominent as that of Archæology, but the fault lay with the geologists who belonged to the Society. Last year he succeeded in getting one paper only; this year, after some trouble, he was promised two papers, but only one of these was forthcoming. He spoke of his great admiration for Professor Buckman's talents, and regretted

his absence ; and promised that if Mr. Winwood would in any way help the arrangements for the next meeting by procuring papers, or making suggestions for the excursions, every attention should be paid to his wishes.

Prof. Buckman's paper was then received, and the thanks of the Society voted to him for it.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. JOHN BATTEN read a paper on "Trent."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. G. T. CLARK said that he paid a visit to Trent Barrow with Mr. Dickinson, and that instead of a barrow they found a great hollow, and a pond in the middle of it. Had it been smaller he should have thought it artificial, but it was so gigantic that he thought that it must be natural. He hoped that when the Society visited it, as it was proposed to do to-morrow, some one would be able to decide what it was. He hoped that the President would allow an accurate plan to be made of it.

The PRESIDENT agreed to Mr. Clark's request, and said that it was a subject of great interest to him.

Mr. BATTEN felt some delicacy in speaking on so interesting a matter ; but he might be allowed to remark that there was a general belief that Trent Barrow was an old marl pit.

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## Excursion : Thursday.

The Society met at the Digby Hotel at 10.30 a.m., and thence set out on the second day's Excursion. The first place visited was

### Poyntington.

The place of gathering was the churchyard of the little parish church. When the party was seated on the grass

(1). Printed in Part II.

(2). Printed in Part II.

Mr. O. W. MALET read a short memoir of "Sir Thomas Malet,"<sup>3</sup> one of his own ancestors, who resided in the village, and whose second son was there slain in a skirmish with the Parliamentary forces.

The Rector, the Rev. J. HEALE, next read a paper<sup>4</sup> on one of the old parish books which he had lately discovered.

The Rev. W. BARNES thought that the name of the village might be derived from some possible Peofa, whose descendants would bear the patronymic Peofingas. Their place of settlement would be called Peofington, and hence would come Poyntington. This derivation was however held to be somewhat groundless.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Malet and to the Rev. J. Heale for their papers. Some amusement was caused by the serious rebuke which the Rector administered to the Secretary in charge of the excursion, for spelling the name of the village with an *i* and not a *y*.

The party then went into the church, an interesting little building of several dates of architecture.

Mr. J. H. PARKER said that he made no doubt but that there was once a small Norman church there to which large additions had been made. The old cradle roof was very fine, and he hoped that it would be preserved, though it did cut off the tower arch in rather an awkward way. In his opinion the tower arch and window were of the time of Edward III, though he believed that many people gave them an earlier date: the plain chamfered arch was not uncommon then. There had been a chantry under the rood-loft, and a fourteenth century window had been curiously altered, and cut about, and filled in to fit the loft. The north wall of the church was no doubt Norman, and

(3). Printed in Part II.

(4). Printed in Part II.

a decorated window had been let into it. The square headed windows were peculiar, but he saw no reason to doubt their being of the time of Edward III. The south porch was Norman. He could not protest too strongly against the grotesque caricature of a foreign gothic apse which had lately been put on to an old English parish church, and he feared that the nave would soon be destroyed under the pretence of what is called "restoration."

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN said that the carved capitals of the old doorway afforded a very good lesson of the way in which the earliest form of Norman capital grew into the latest. He said that he had heard words from the Rector which filled him with alarm ; he had heard of a new north wall and a new porch. He supposed that it was intended that the whole place should be destroyed ; so it was a great gain that they had an opportunity of seeing it now. What the original chancel was he did not know, but, when he saw the present one, he said at first that it was an apse which had swum over across the sea. On looking again, he saw that that could not be, for such windows never came from Germany, Italy, or France : yet they were not English. From the Peofa of Mr. Barnes on to the Ruskin of to-day, there was never an Englishman who could have made such a building as this apse. He begged them to keep up the memorials of the history of the church.

The Rev. J. HEALE said that he supposed that, neither Mr. Freeman or Mr. Parker would keep the window under the loft as it was.

Mr. FREEMAN said that he certainly would keep it, as he did not think that prettiness was every thing. He begged that the old porch might not be destroyed ; it had stood 700 years ; and even if they meant to put it up again just as it was, still he feared that when it was once down it

would never rise again quite the same. They should also, by all means, keep the north wall.

Rev. J. HEALE said that the wall was out of the perpendicular.

Mr. J. H. PARKER explained how the wall might be made perfectly safe and strong by “underpinning,” and begged that it might be left alone.

The party next visited the old Manor house, where they were hospitably received by the occupier, Mr. Game.

Mr. J. H. PARKER said that the house was of the late Tudor period, with a gate-house forming an entrance to a quadrangular court. On the opposite side of the court are remains of the hall, and near the lower end of it was the kitchen—a detached building at the right hand corner of the court. The kitchen was once connected with the hall by a wooden passage which has been destroyed. The upper end of the hall, at the angle of the court, is connected with the cellar, and the solar over it, by a staircase in the corner. The cellar and the solar form another side of the court, and connect the hall with the gate-house. The fourth side was formed either by a boundary wall only, or perhaps by stables.

As to the pretty parsonage house adjoining the church, Mr. Parker said that he need only remark on the fine front, with four hall windows of the time of Henry IV. One window, in a gable, now blocked up, may be earlier. This window and the cellar under it he considered to be the oldest part of the house.

### *Sandford Orcas Church and Manor House*

were next visited. Orcas is a corruption of Orescuoltz or Orskoys, a family who possessed the manor. The Church of St. Nicholas has a decorated chancel and an Early

English font, but its other parts are in the Perpendicular style. The south or manor aisle has a richly-carved roof, and contains the monument of William Knowle, 1607, whose family had possessions in this parish, temp. Ed. III. A Knoyle was sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, 1492. His family built the Manor House adjacent, temp. Hen. VIII, or early in the reign of Elizabeth. The gate-house<sup>5</sup> has a chimney with Ionic volutes, and the chimney of the parlour has a bold cabling on its cap. On the porch is a lozenge containing arms—Knoyle, *gules* on a bend, *argent*, 3 escallops *sable*, impaling (?) 3 horses courant. The same arms are painted on the east wall of the manor aisle. The hall has a good oak screen and large bay windows. Arms in glass:—1, Knoyle; 2, Knoyle impaling Martin of Athelhampton; 3, Knoyle impaling Payne. The drawing-room is over the hall, and the solar over the cellar. The inner porch has a good Perpendicular doorway. The manor and advowson passed by purchase in 1735 to John Hutchings, and the Manor House has been restored by his descendant, the present possessor.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Hutchings conducted the party all over the Manor House, and gave a clear and interesting explanation of the buildings; he then kindly entertained his visitors.

Mr. J. H. PARKER observed that the house was of the same character throughout, and that it had been restored in a most scrupulous manner. He considered that the church had also been treated in a conscientious way, and that it was a real restoration.

(5). See ground plan.

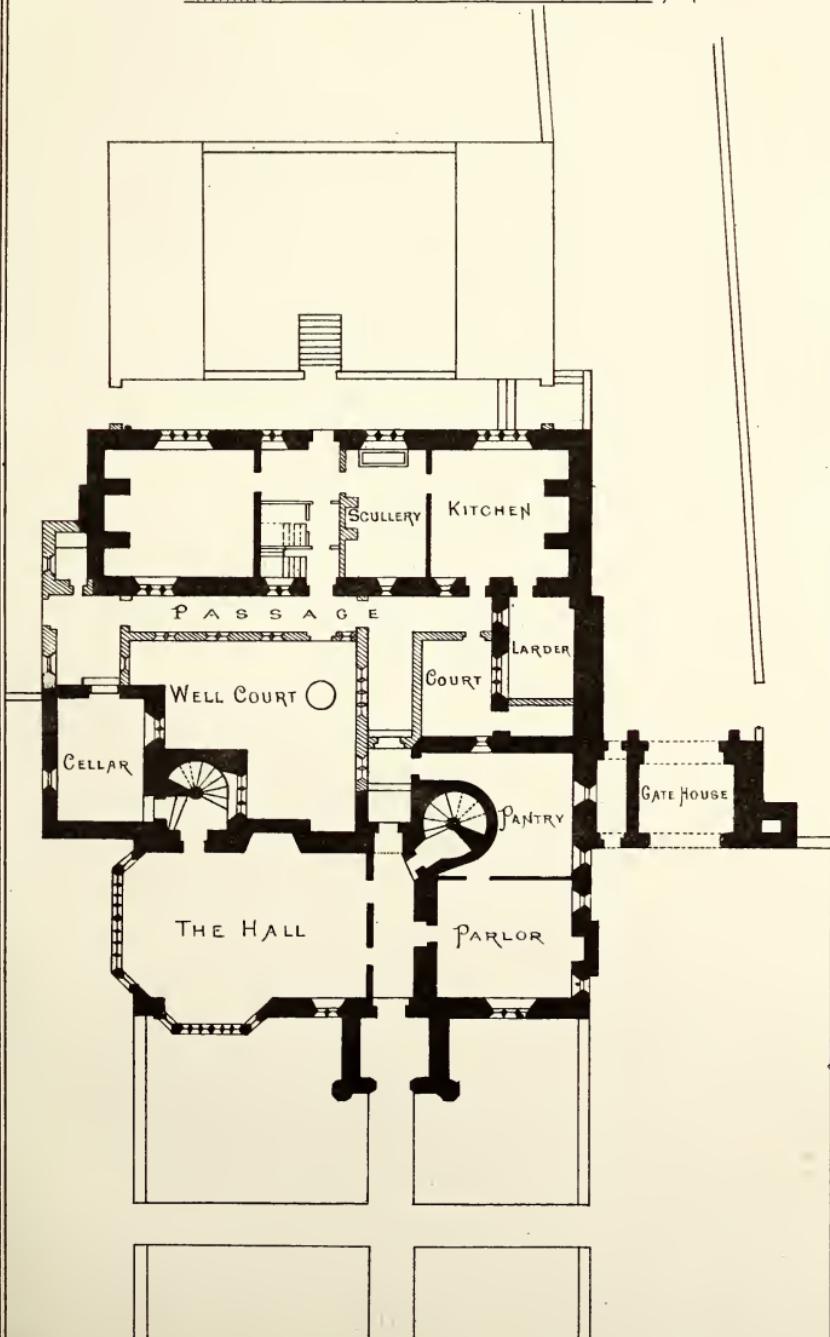
(6). These remarks and the plan of Manor House have been kindly furnished by Mr. Hutchings, the Lord of the Manor, and the restorer of the church and house.

THE MANOR HOUSE SANDFORD ORCAS:

GROUND PLAN

SCALE

10 15 20 25 30 40 50 FEET





### Chilton Cantele

was next visited, and the Rector, the Rev. C. Goodford, the Provost of Eton, deputed Mr. J. H. Parker to speak on the work which he had carried out on the church.

Mr. J. H. PARKER said that the church had been admirably restored under Dr. Goodford. It was in such a bad state that it was absolutely necessary to rebuild it, but in the rebuilding every fragment of the old church, which could be preserved, had been conscientiously replaced in its old position : and the effect was so good that it was hard to believe how very much had been done in the last few years. It is, he said, an admirable instance of what real restoration is, and contrasts most favourably with what is commonly but falsely so called. Archæologists have gradually learned to hate the name of restoration, which is too often synonymous with the demolition of every old feature, and the substitution for them of some modern fancy. Dr. Goodford has shown what honest restoration really is ; unfortunately such examples are very rare.

The Rev. PROVOST then spoke of the way in which different parts of the building had been treated, and also explained some curious mural paintings which he had found in the church, which illustrated the beautiful legend of the Assumption of the Virgin. He said the mural paintings in this church were discovered in the following way :—It was determined in 1864 to restore the church ; it was found on examination that restoration must (with the exception of the tower) be rebuilding. The tower being of a much later date than the rest of the church was sound and solid, and could safely be let alone.

One main object kept in view was to retain all that was possible of the old features in the old places ; in this view

I hope we may have been considered to have succeeded. The old Norman font, the piscina, the hagioscope, the simple old sedilia, the two windows in the north transept are stone for stone the original construction, carefully replaced in the exact spots from which they were temporarily removed. The screen required some repairs and a deal of scraping. The places of some stones, which project from the wall in the chancel and south transept, are to an inch what they were before, but I have never yet been able to obtain any explanation of their position and use, and I shall be greatly obliged to any one who will take the trouble to visit the church and give me instructions on this point. I have conjectured that they were brackets for images, but they are not all equally suitable for this purpose. I said just now the tower was let alone ; this is not strictly true, we did not indeed restore it, but completed it, which the original architect never did. Out of the eight finials which now rise on the buttresses at the four corners of the tower one only had ever been put on ; of the smaller ones at the top of the tower, none, though the shafts on which they were to stand were in all cases ready to receive them. The one which had been put up was fortunately a sufficient guide to us in making the rest ; the original design was completed, and we venture to think that no one who knew the tower before, and has seen it since, can doubt the improvement.

Before the walls of the church were pulled down they were carefully scraped from white-wash, and it was in doing this in the north transept that the paintings, of which we have now to speak, were brought to light.

Under several coats of white-wash we came upon a smooth glazed surface, ornamented (wherever the subjects here exhibited did not interfere with it) with a diaper

pattern, consisting of quadrangular compartments, imitating masonry jointing, with a cinquefoil ornament in each ; the quadrangular compartments measuring  $10 \times 6$  ins. The same pattern is found on the south side of the choir of the well-known Church of St. Cross near Winchester, the lines there measuring  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$  ins. They are described, and a drawing of them given, in the *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vi. p. 79—442 ; the ornament there being sometimes cinquefoil, sometimes quartrefoil. The same is found in Soberton Church in Hampshire, described in page 442 of the same volume. In the *Sussex Archaeological Collection*, v. p. 213, this pattern is said to belong to the 11th century, which seems somewhat too old for the church at Chilton ; the colour is in each case the same, a dark brown, as shewn in the fac-simile exhibited here.

Of the subject of the drawings now exhibited, there can, I think, be no doubt ; they clearly represent the Death, Burial, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin Mary.

The whole of the history is of course legendary, and the legend runs as follows :—It relates that the Virgin Mary lived after the ascension of our Lord in the house of the Apostle St. John, on Mount Sion ; that she reached the age, according to one account of sixty, according to another of seventy-two years ; that as years advanced she was more and more filled with a longing to be with her glorified Son. While filled with these thoughts she was visited by the Angel Gabriel, who announced to her that she should pass through death to Paradise. St. John was brought by a whirlwind from Ephesus, where he was preaching, to the house in which the Virgin was, and some similar miraculous agency brought the other Apostles to the

same spot. While they were all assembled, expecting and lamenting her death, St. Peter at the head and St. John at the foot of the bed, our Lord appeared, and gave the Apostles directions to bear her body on a bier to the Valley of Jehosaphat, and to watch by it three days, when He promised to return ; addressing our Lord, the Virgin said, "To Thee do I commend my spirit." Our Lord then took the soul, and bore it to Heaven ; the Apostles placed the body on a bier, and were carrying it to burial, when the high priest and some other unbelieving Jews attempted to stop them. The high priest, who had laid his hands on the bier, was unable to remove them ; some of his companions were struck helpless to the ground. At the end of the three days our Lord returned, according to his promise, restored the soul to the body, which he revived, the Virgin was borne by angels to Heaven, where our Lord received her, and placed a crown of gold upon her head.

This legend appears to be carefully followed in the paintings. The west wall of the chapel (for such I assume it to have been), on which the subject was continued from south to north, contained the figures as far as the two first that we come to bearing the poles ; on the north wall, at right angles to this, were the two other bearers ; then, on the western splay of the north window, were the recumbent figure, the two figures at the head and the five at the side ; then came the north window, and the splay on the eastern side of it contained the figure with the hands uplifted, the two figures looking down upon it, and supporting it with drapery ; then followed on the north wall the same figure, supported in the same way, with a third figure looking down from above, and extending its hand towards the supported figure. Then, on the east wall, the

two remaining figures ; the rest of the wall to the angle was filled with the diaper pattern before described.

What I have said will, I hope, have made the arrangement of the figures on the wall plain to my hearers ; the paintings ranged with the level of the bottom of the north window.

For explanation, we must, of course, refer to the legend as stated above ; and in support of what may be said on this head, I would refer to Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna* ; to a paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. page 434 ; and to the 53rd vol. of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, page 547. The first-named work treats the subject with reference to art generally, the two latter have special reference to mural paintings in Chalgrove Church, Oxfordshire, on the same subject with those here ; these it may be interesting to compare as we go on.

I would first remark that the figure of the Virgin, as repeatedly represented here, does not give the idea of the age which the legend states she had reached at the time of her death ; but the artist no doubt followed the rule laid down by "Pictor Christianus Eruditus," he says that it is a great mistake to represent her as though her death were the result of age or sickness, she simply "amore languit," and should be represented with her eyes fixed on Heaven, her arms either extended towards it, or folded upon her breast, and she "pretiosis exornata vestibus, valde decora atque pulchra."

The first picture represents the visit of the Angel Gabriel, when the Virgin is usually represented in a sitting posture. In Chalgrove Church she is represented as standing, and the figure of the angel presenting to the Virgin a palm branch is in good preservation ; here but slight traces of the angel remain. I should say that in

Chalgrove Church the subject runs from right to left, and forms two series, one above the other ; not, as here, one continuous line. The next two figures I take to be those of the Virgin and of St. John, to whom she is announcing her coming death ; it is possible that this part of the subject is omitted, and that these two figures belong to the death scene which follows, but I incline to the former idea from a comparison with the Chalgrove paintings, where there are two persons only at the bed. The other six in this picture are undoubtedly Apostles. The figure of our Lord taking the soul of the Virgin in the form of an infant is very distinct ; a similar representation is found at Stagham Church in Sussex, where angels are conveying a soul to Heaven. (See *Sussex Archaeological Collection*, xiii. p. 238.) Then follows the funeral procession, the bier borne by the Apostles—the two falling figures are clearly those of unbelieving Jews ; the same number is represented in Chalgrove Church, where the high priest is fixed to the bier, as he possibly may have been here, though the figure is now lost. The next group contains the restoration of the Virgin to life, according to our Lord's promise ; the tomb, you will observe, is arcaded below, as it is at Chalgrove, where the same peculiarity is to be observed of the tomb from which our Lord arises in a representation of the resurrection. The next two compartments represent the Virgin borne to Heaven by angels, and in the second received by our Lord. The whole concludes with her coronation by Him ; the features of the two last figures are remarkably like those representing the same subject at Chalgrove, probably both were done at the same period, and the figures drawn from some common type.

While on the subject of the church, and of this chapel

in particular, I can hardly pass over what I spoke of in a letter to our Secretary as my single local curiosity—a skull which cannot be buried; the tradition is mentioned in Collinson, and still survives here. There is no doubt that a headless skeleton lies beneath the tomb stone of which Collinson speaks. This was ascertained at the time of the necessary demolition of the church. The conjecture is probable, from the date at which Mr. Brome was buried, that he took this precaution lest his head, like that of many others after the restoration, might be severed from his body and exposed to insult. I know of no instance of a similar kind, though I have endeavoured through *Notes and Queries* to obtain one. The founder of the chapel, I conceive, lies in a stone coffin which is below that of Mr. Brome. The arch over the tomb is thus mentioned in Symonds' *Diary*, printed for the Camden Society, 1859. “ Saturday 20 July 1644 his Majestie marched from thence (*i.e.* from Bruton). The rendezvous was on the hill, Queen Camel being on the left, thence to Ivilchester that night, where his Majestie lay; the troop was quartered at Chilton two miles off. Chilton Church hath no armes in it; a flat coffin monument, playne, lyes within an arch under the north wall of the north chapel.” The arch remains as Mr. Symonds saw it, the plain monument is covered by that of Theophilus Brome, the inscription and arms on which may be seen in Collinson's *History*.

The thanks of the Society were given to the Rev. Provost for his kind reception.

The Society paid the last visit of the meeting to

Trent,

and gathered in the beautiful little church.

Mr. J. H. PARKER said a few words inside the church. He called attention to the magnificent rood loft, left in its original state. The roof was not quite what he could wish; and, indeed, the interior throughout, though handsome, was not quite an example of restoration. The tower and spire were far more worth looking at than any thing inside the building.

Mr. J. BATTEN pointed out different coats of arms in illustration of his paper on Trent, which he read the evening before, and especially the curious genealogical trees on the soffit of the arch, dividing the north chapel from the nave.

The party was then bidden to lunch, and was entertained by the President with lavish hospitality in a great tent on the lawn of the old Manor House.

After luncheon several toasts were drunk. Among them was the health of the President, which was proposed by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who thanked him in the name of the Society for the able way in which he had fulfilled the duties of his office on that occasion, and for the magnificent manner with which he had entertained the Society.

After lunch another visit was paid to the church, and Mr. Freeman spoke of the tower and spire with great admiration. The old manor house, which contains the hiding place of Charles II, was also visited; and the other manor house, which formerly belonged to the Young family. A picturesque chantry-house adjoins the churchyard; and another chantry priest's house stands a little further from the church. Both these are of the Tudor period. The little village is full of natural and architectural beauty. It is to be regretted that the necessity of meeting trains, &c., cut short the visit of the Society. Much remains to

be seen, and perhaps another and less hurried visit may at a future day be paid to this most interesting spot.

Here the Society ended its twenty-sixth annual meeting, which was one of the pleasantest and most largely attended which had ever been held.

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## The Local Museum

was held in a small room of the Town Hall. Several very interesting objects were exhibited. The most worthy of mention was perhaps a case of fossils, containing a large number of exquisite specimens of *Ammonites* and *Belemnites*, together with several fine pieces of pottery, flint implements, &c., exhibited by PROFESSOR BUCKMAN.

BY REV. J. HEALE.

A curious old press, called “The Hang-dog Press,” having on each side the figure of a dog hung by the neck, bearing date 1521, and with the arms of the ducal house of Northumberland.

BY REV. H. D. WICKHAM.

A collection of coins ; a medal with an inscription to Isis ; and a stone with a Greek Christian inscription, of which the following seems to be a correct translation :— “Here lies Makaria, wife of Maritos. She was perfected at Byzantium. O God, cause the soul of thy servant to rest in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Jesus Christ.” These were all lately brought by him from Malta.

BY REV. R. H. W. DIGBY.

A curious collection of broadsides, about 1642, relating to the siege of Sherborne Castle ; coins, medals, &c. ; a

little plate which belonged to the Dauphin of France, son of Louis XVI.

The Revs. W. LYON, and Preb. HARPER ; Messrs. BENTHALL, DALE, RUEGG, and others also exhibited objects of interest.

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## The Museum.

### ADDITIONS SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE LAST VOLUME :—

*The Archæological Journal.*

*Journal of the British Archæological Association.*

*Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.*

*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.*

*The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine.*

*Annual Report of the Plymouth Institute and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society*, vol. iv. part 4.

*Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool*, No. 28.

*Report and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies.*

*Proceedings of the Geologists' Association.*

*The Palæolithic Age Examined*, by the Author.

*The Rural Life of Shakespere*, by the Author, Mr. C. ROACH SMITH.

Copy of the *London Gazette*, announcing the death of the Duke of York ; Proclamation of the Accession of George II ; and a portion of an Illuminated Roll in Law French, by Mr. H. H. WHITE.

*Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe*, Lond.  
1678, by Mr. E. BAGEHOT.

*Descriptive Notices of Churches in Scotland*, by Mr.  
THOS. DICKSON.

Some early Nos. of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by Mr.  
F. W. NEWTON.

A stone tablet, bearing an early Christian epitaph,  
brought from Malta, by the Rev. H. D. WICKHAM.

Cannon ball found near Sherborne Castle, by Miss  
SCOTT.

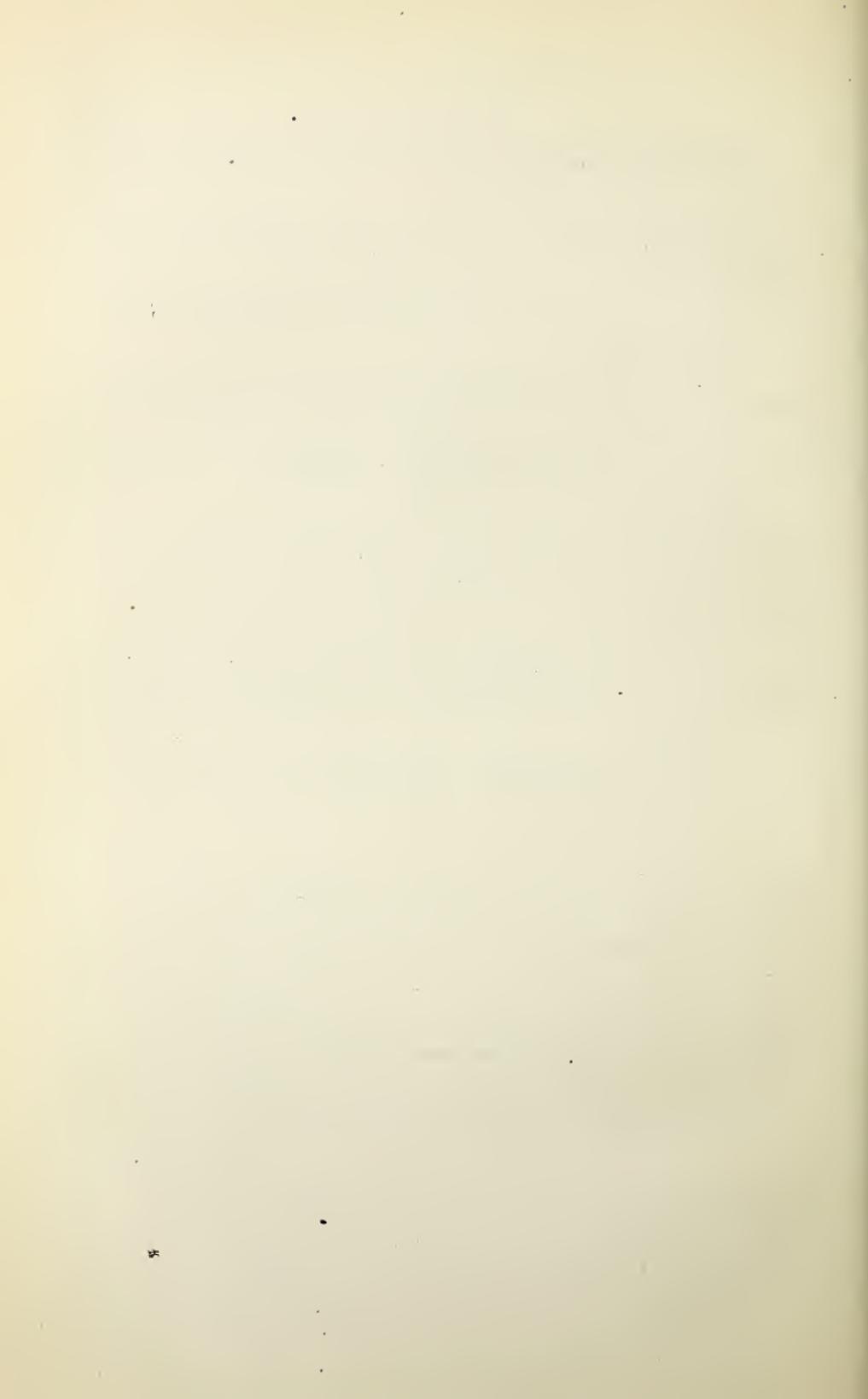
Cannon ball found at Sherborne Castle, by the Rev.  
W. H. LYON.

Collection of shells of the limpet, showing variation,  
by Mr. BENTHALL.

An old Dyak jar taken from Rentap, the great head  
hunter, in the Island of Borneo, by H. H. the RAJAH  
OF SARAWAK.

Fifty-one tokens and other coins, by Mr. STRINGFELLOW.





PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND  
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY,  
1874, PART II.

—  
PAPERS, ETC.  
—

*King Ine.*

PART II.

—  
BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D.  
—

WE have this day, as you have already heard, once more crossed our proper borders and ventured to hold a meeting beyond the limits of our own shire. We did so at Bristol some years back; we are now again doing so at Sherborne. I trust that this invasion on our part needs no apology: but, if it be thought that any one is to blame in the matter, I shall venture to lay that blame on shoulders which are surely well able to bear it. I shall lay it on the shoulders of a common sovereign and a common hero, a worthy alike of the shire which we have left behind and of the shire which we have taken upon ourselves to enter. If we have forced our way into the land of the Dorsætas, it is King Ine who has led us thither. The most famous among the early Kings of the West-Saxons cannot be looked on as a stranger in any part of his

kingdom, but he is one in whom the two shires of Somerset and Dorset have at once a special and a common interest. He is equally at home at Sherborne, at Taunton, and at Glastonbury ; it is only with fear and trembling that I venture to add, perhaps at Wells also. We cannot trace out his history in its fulness without visiting all the places with which his name is thus specially connected. And in whichever shire we begin our pilgrimage to his many shrines, we must necessarily pass out of one shire into the other. At Taunton we see him as the conqueror, the military founder, the man who enlarged the English land at the expense of the Briton, and who guarded his conquest by the great border-fortress which was the place of our meeting two years back. But, if at Taunton we see the man who made the Briton yield to the West-Saxon, we see at Glastonbury the man who could deal with the conquered as fellow-men and fellow-Christians, who could rear up again the holy places of the fallen nation, and could bid the minster of Glastonbury stand as the common possession and sanctuary of both races. At Wells we can only track him by a feebler light ; our evidence is slight and doubtful ; yet there still are some signs which make it not unlikely that some humbler forerunner of the bishoprick of Saint Andrew, some lowlier foundation on the same site, may have led Eadward the Unconquered to place his great ecclesiastical creation on the spot which tradition has always connected with Ine's name. But here at Sherborne we stand on firmer ground ; our great ecclesiastical attaction here is the church which, though fallen from its ancient rank, still preserves the memory of Ine's greatest ecclesiastical work. In this aspect, we of Wells and of Somerset at large are at Sherborne children visiting their parent, colonists visiting

their metropolis. Our diocese of Wells is a fragment cut off from the older diocese of Sherborne. Our church of Wells is the daughter of the elder church of Sherborne, as the church of Sherborne is the daughter of the yet more venerable church of imperial Winchester. And the church and bishoprick of Sherborne, the church of Ealdhelm and his successors, was the creation of Ine, his greatest ecclesiastical creation. And it is not from Wells and Somerset only that some of us have come to pay our homage to the memory of the common founder, to the memory of the saint to whom he intrusted the care of the flock which he thus parted off from the more ancient folds by the banks of the Thames and the Itchin. Some of us have come to the place where the memory of Ine and Ealdhelm lives among the works of later ages from the place where Ealdhelm's own humbler work still lives on the site of Cenwealh's victory by the Avon. Whencesoever we come, from Wells, from Taunton, from Bradford, from any of the spots which cherish the names of our great King and our great Bishop, we all feel at home in the church where Ine placed Ealdhelm in the pastoral chair which he himself had founded. Without a visit to the place of his greatest ecclesiastical work, our survey of the acts of the founder of Taunton, of the second founder of Glastonbury would be imperfect indeed.

I may add another ground on which I hold that our Society is fully justified in making, a ground on which indeed it would have been much to blame if it had not made, this friendly invasion of the land of another branch of the common West-Saxon stock. We have to deal, not only with the history of the district in past times, but also with the actual memorials in stone and mortar which those past times have left to us. We have, now for many years,

been engaged in a careful, and I hope a not altogether unsystematic, survey of the churches of the county of Somerset, and in a comparison of the special features which distinguish their characteristic local style from the characteristic local styles of other districts. But we could not fully complete this survey without crossing, at two points at least, beyond the borders of our own shire. In an architectural point of view, the county of Somerset is a sort of central ground, where a style which is in some sort common to it with a much wider district reaches, as a rule, its most perfect developement. The peculiar features of the two architectural styles of Somerset, the peculiar form of the earliest Gothic which we see at Glastonbury and Wells, and the peculiar style of late Gothic which we see in the great parish churches of the county, are not absolutely confined to the soil of Somerset. The local style, though it is within the county of Somerset that its peculiar features are most marked, spreads in a more or less perfect form into the neighbouring shires of Dorset, Devon, and Gloucester. It even crosses the Bristol Channel, and shows itself, both in its earlier and in its later form, in the two great churches of South Wales, at Saint David's and at Llandaff, and in not a few smaller buildings of the same district. Indeed it is remarkable that of the later style, the Perpendicular of Somerset, though the great majority of the best examples of a moderate scale are to be found within the county, yet of the three buildings of a higher class which belong to it, two lie beyond the strict limits of the shire. The Perpendicular style of Somerset has produced three churches, two of them minsters in rank, all three minsters in style and scale, of which one only stands within the present bounds of the shire. This one is the abbey church of Bath, the church of Saint Peter, once the

fellow and rival of his elder brother Andrew. Of the other two we visited one when our meeting at Bristol enabled us to examine the church of Saint Mary Redcliff, the one English parish church which may fairly rank with the churches of bishopricks and abbeys, the one English parish church which can show a stone vaulted roof over every inch of its surface. The third we have come hither to see; it will be to-morrow my privilege to point out the chief features of its style and design. And I think that none who may go thither with me will differ from me in saying that our examination of the churches of Wells and Taunton and Glastonbury and Wrington and Martock and Huish and Lydeard and Bath and Redcliff would have been shorn of one of its most important and attractive features if we had not wound up the series with their sister in architectural style, their parent in old ecclesiastical rank, the church which represents the minster which Ine reared to receive the bishopstool of Sherborne.

Of the subjects suggested by the mention of Ine, those which I did not speak of two years back at Taunton were his laws and his ecclesiastical foundations. These last, or at any rate the greatest among them, will form the proper subject for a discourse on Ine at a Sherborne meeting. But, before I come to my immediate subject, the division of the great West-Saxon diocese and the foundation of the bishoprick of Sherborne, I wish to say a few words to supplement or to correct part of what I said at Taunton. I there pointed out that the common belief that Winfrith or Boniface was born at Crediton and brought up at Exeter, before the end of the seventh century, was quite inconsistent with the views to which I had been led, by following out the indications of the Chronicles in the path

first opened by Dr. Guest. If Winfrith was born at Crediton and brought up at Exeter, it follows that Crediton and Exeter, and, if not the whole of Devonshire, at least its eastern part, were already English at a time when the other line of argument would lead us to think that the West-Saxon arms had not yet passed the borders of Somerset. I remarked that, in the contemporary and nearly contemporary records of Boniface, there is nothing to fix his birth at Crediton or at any particular place. I remarked that in the passage which connects him with Exeter the reading does not seem to be absolutely certain, and that the other places which are mentioned in the early lives of Boniface, though they are all, as we might expect to find them, places in Wessex, are none of them places in Devonshire. I was led into this argument, because it seemed to me that, if we accepted the common view as to the places of the birth and education of Boniface, it would upset my own views, and indeed Dr. Guest's views also, as to the gradual conquest of Somerset, views which certainly seem to me to rest on the only probable interpretation of the Chronicles. Since then I have asked several friends, especially in Devonshire and further to the West, to give me the benefit of anything which they may come across which may throw light upon the matter. As yet, it seems that nothing has been found to throw any light on the early history of Boniface. No one has been able to find any statement as to his birth at Crediton in any writing earlier than some documents of Bishop Grandison in the fourteenth century. Now it is plain what this kind of evidence proves and what it does not prove. A statement of the fourteenth century cannot of itself prove that Boniface was born at Crediton in the seventh century. All that it does prove is that people in the fourteenth century

believed that he was born there. Now this belief is something quite different from what is commonly called "tradition," which mostly means the guesses of some one within the last two or three centuries. The statement that Boniface was born at Crediton is entitled to much more respect than the unlucky guess which says that *Ælfred* carved the White Horse at Uffington, or than the shameless lie which says that he founded University College. It is a kind of statement which has a strong presumption in its favour. It is a kind of statement which we are ready to believe, if there is no special reason for disbelieving it. But its value goes no further than this. Presumption is not proof; and a statement of this kind must give way, if any, even the slightest, degree of possible evidence, direct or indirect, can be brought against it. I hold then that, if the story of the birth and education of Boniface is inconsistent with Dr. Guest's inferences from the Chronicles, which seem to me to be quite irresistible, I must give up the story of Boniface. But, if any way can be found to reconcile the inferences with the story, clearly so much the better. And I am not sure that such a way has not been found. Perhaps in tracing the westward progress of the West-Saxon arms, my thoughts were too exclusively local. Perhaps I thought too much of the shire in which I live, and not enough of the shire in which we are now met. Perhaps I took too much for granted that the West-Saxon conquerors could only have got into Devonshire by the road by which it is natural for me to get into Devonshire myself. I went to Exeter last year by way of Taunton, Wellington, and Collumpton, in other words by the Bristol and Exeter Railway. But I came away by way of Honiton and Sherborne, that is to say, by London and South-Western. Then it struck me that the way by which

I came out of Devonshire might also be one way to get into it. It struck me, in short, that the English need not have made their way to Exeter by the Bristol and Exeter line, but that they might have gone in by London and South-Western. Now I have never been able to find any direct record of the conquest of Devonshire, or indeed of that of Dorset ; for our great Dorset fact is one, not of English victory, but of English defeat, namely the fight of *Mons Badonicus* at Badbury.<sup>1</sup> It may then well be that, while the West-Saxons were fighting their way along the northern coast of the western peninsula, they may have been fighting it with greater speed along the southern coast. In this way we may believe, if we wish, that Exeter was English as early as Taunton, or earlier, without giving up those successive stages in the advance of the West-Saxons from the Avon to Blackdown which we have learned to mark by the successive names of Ceawlin, Cenwealh, Centwine, and Ine.

To what I had to say two years ago, I must now add two arguments, one on each side, which I have come across since I spoke about Ine at Taunton. In favour of the late English occupation of Devonshire there is the fact that, while we have documents belonging to other parts of Wessex of a much earlier date, we have nothing in Devonshire till we come to a grant of Æthelwulf in 854.<sup>2</sup> I do not say that this is proof, because it is so much a matter of accident whether documents belonging to this or that place are preserved. I would not lightly affirm that the documents belonging to Dorset go much further back. I have not gone through the whole *Codex Diplomaticus* for the purpose ; but I do not find any documents belonging to Sherborne till about the same date, though we know that it existed long before.<sup>3</sup> But I do find

a mention of Dorchester of the Dorsetas twenty years earlier in the reign of Ecgberht. And in that document, there is, oddly enough, mention made of three sisters, one of whom went away into Devonshire, where she seems to have had lands.<sup>4</sup> But then the time of Ecgberht is the time when those to whom it seems strange that Crediton and Exeter could have been English in the time of Ine would be inclined to put the conquest of Devonshire. Now arguments of this kind cannot distinctly prove anything either way, because they are purely negative, and may be at any moment set aside by lighting upon an earlier document. Still in many cases they have accumulative force ; they form a presumption which is entitled to some respect till positive evidence overthrows it. The other argument which I have come across since we were at Taunton will most likely be thought to have more force the other way. It proves nothing directly as to the date of the English conquest of Devonshire ; but it proves something indirectly, by showing that it is almost certain that the city of Exeter was conquered by Englishmen who came from the south or west and not from the north. This of course does not prove that Devonshire, or any part of it, was conquered before Ine's time ; but it takes away all *a priori* objection to such a belief, if there is any reason on other grounds to think that it was so. I am speaking of the highly ingenious paper read by Mr. Kerslake at the Exeter meeting of the Archaeological Institute.<sup>5</sup> Starting from the well-known statement of William of Malmesbury that, up to the time of  $\text{\textit{Æ}}\text{thelstan}$ , Exeter was inhabited by a twofold population, English and Welsh,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Kerslake shewed that in one part of the city the churches were dedicated to British saints whose names are not often found so far to the east. He thence inferred,

with a probability which almost reaches certainty, that this part of the city, where the holy men of the conquered race are still held in honour, marks the extent of the *Welshry* in the days up to *Æthelstan*. But these Celtic-sounding parishes all lie on the north side of the city, and one of them, that of Saint David's, stretches a good way to the north into the open country. If therefore the Welsh were allowed to keep part of the city, and that a part lying to the north, it would seem to follow, almost necessarily, that the conquest of Exeter by the English was made from the south. And this would seem to imply that the conquest of at least that part of Devonshire was made by an advance along the southern and not the northern coast, through the land of the *Dorsætas* and not through the land of the *Sumorsætas*. The date of such a conquest may be placed in the days of *Ine* or in the days before *Ine*. There is nothing to fix it, except the passage in the *Life of Boniface* which, if the text be correct, speaks of Exeter as his place of education. It would certainly be remarkable if Exeter and this part of Devonshire was conquered so early, and if a distinct Welsh population was nevertheless living in Exeter so long after as the time of *Æthelstan*. It is remarkable, but it is not impossible. It would be easy to find in Ireland and in Wales instances of places where there was an English and a Welsh or Irish town for a long time together. At Kidwelly, if I rightly remember, there was an *Englishry*, a *Welshry*, and a *Foreignry*. In the first days of the Norman Conquest, there was in some English boroughs, as at Norwich, an English and a French town.<sup>7</sup> And in Germany, where there was both a German and a Wendish or other subject population, the two races often occupied different quarters. Thus, in a town so far west as Lüne-

burg, there is to this day a quarter known as *Wendisches Dorf*. The Welsh quarter at Exeter was doubtless something of the same kind. It was the part of the town which was left to the subject remnant of the old citizens of Isca. They had purchased their lives and their personal freedom by submitting as a community, and they were allowed to keep a distinct existence and some common rights as a subject community. They may not have been quite on the level of Jews in a Jewry;<sup>8</sup> but we may be sure that they were in no sense the equals of the English citizens, and that the municipal government was wholly in the hands of the conquering race. Their legal position would doubtless be the same as that of those other British inhabitants of Wessex of whom we shall have much to say when we come to speak of the laws of Ine. The remarkable thing is the long time during which the distinction must have lasted. A comparison of the laws of Ine with those of Ælfred shows that, in the West-Saxon kingdom at large, the distinction between Englishman and Briton, which was in full force in the days of Ine, had been quite forgotten before the days of Ælfred. Here at Exeter we find it living on in the days of Ælfred's grandson. But we must allow for the working of the corporate spirit, and, above all, for the narrowest of all spirits, the corporate oligarchic spirit. It would be far easier for thegns and churls of British descent, scattered about among English neighbours, to rise one by one to the level of their English neighbours, than it would be for the British community of Exeter to rise, as a body, to the level of the ruling English community.

But I must come back to my proper subject with which this inquiry is only indirectly connected. I have to deal

with Inc, and in this place I have to deal with him mainly in his character of an ecclesiastical founder. I have to deal with him in his character as founder of the see of Sherborne, that is, as divider of the original diocese of Wessex. We must remember what an ancient English bishoprick was. It was, as I have had to explain in more than one shape,<sup>9</sup> not, as in continental lands, the bishoprick of a city but the bishoprick of a tribe or nation. This applies not only to the Teutonic, but also to the Celtic parts of the British Islands. In none of them were the cities predominant in the way in which they were in all the lands which had thoroughly received and kept either Greek or Roman civilization. The Italian, Gaulish, or Spanish Bishop was strictly the Bishop of a city. His home was in the city; his church was in the city; as Christianity prevailed in the towns long before it made much way in the open country, for a long time his flock was mainly in the city. In every case the bounds of his spiritual jurisdiction were marked by the bounds of the temporal jurisdiction of the city in which he dwelled. The titles of Italian, French, and Spanish Bishops are therefore not only now taken from cities, but always have been so. In the British Islands, on the other hand, where in the Celtic parts cities can hardly be said to have existed, and where in the Teutonic parts the storm of the English Conquest had swept most of the cities away, the state of things was quite different. In many parts there were no towns at all; where there were any, they did not hold anything like the position which was held by the continental towns. The whole organization was tribal and not civic. Instead of cities with the districts attached to them, we had, in an ascending scale, the village community, the settlement of the *gens*—the hundred, the settlement of what I am

tempted to call the *curia*—the *gau* or shire, the settlement of the tribe—the kingdom which was formed as tribes under their Ealdormen joined together into a nation under its King. As Christianity was preached, the Apostle who began the conversion of a kingdom became its first Bishop, Bishop of all the people of that kingdom, and, for the most part, taking his title from the people of whom he was Bishop. The bounds of the kingdom were the bounds of the diocese ; and thus, both in England and on the continent, the ecclesiastical divisions are our best guide to the ancient temporal divisions. As the diocese of a continental Bishop teaches us the extent of the jurisdiction of a city at the time when its bishoprick was founded, so the bounds of an English diocese, as they stood before modern changes, teach us the extent of an ancient kingdom or principality. I say principality, to meet a case of which there was certainly one instance and most likely more. In Kent, besides the diocese of Canterbury which represents the kingdom of the head Kentish King, there was also the diocese of Rochester which represented the kingdom of the Under-King of the West-Centingas.<sup>10</sup> The English, Scottish, or Irish Bishop then was the Bishop of a people, not of a city. He had his head church, his *bishopstool*, his *bishopsettle*,<sup>11</sup> in some particular place which was his special home ; but that place was not always a city ; it might be a village, it might be lonely monastery. Down to the Norman Conquest, though the Bishop sometimes took his title from a city, though in some particular cases, as at Rochester, he seems always to have done so, yet the tribal title was decidedly more common. And we have a trace of the custom still, though not in England, yet in some other parts of the British Islands. Since the Norman Conquest the use of the urban title has in England

become universal, but there still are among us Irish, Scottish, and Scandinavian Bishops who bear the titles of districts and islands, as Ossory, Galloway, and Sodor and Man. These are relics of the times when there was also a Bishop of the East-Angles and of the South-Saxons, and when the Bishop of our own land was not called from Wells, or Sherborne, or even Winchester, but from the whole kingdom and people of the West-Saxons.

The conversion of the West-Saxons began in 634. It must be remembered that the West-Saxon Church was not an offshoot from the Kentish Church, but was formed by a distinct mission from the common centre at Rome. The Frank Birinus was sent by Pope Honorius to convert some of the more distant inhabitants of Britain who had not come within reach of the teaching of Augustine and Paulinus. But he found it needless to go to any of the further parts of the island, as he found ample work for his missionary energy in the part of Britain where he first landed. He found the Gewissas or West-Saxons a people so utterly heathen that he thought that there was no need to go further, and he at once began to evangelize those among whom he found himself.<sup>12</sup> Thus began the West-Saxon Church as a separate colony of Rome. Its submission to Canterbury was the natural result of the general working of ecclesiastical affairs in England ; but it was perhaps not without some shadowy memory of original independence that Henry of Blois ages afterwards strove to obtain metropolitan rank for the church of Winchester.<sup>13</sup> Be all this as it may, in 635 Birinus baptized the West-Saxon King Cynegils, the next year his son King Cwichelm, and three years later again the Under-king Cuthred the son of Cwichelm. All these were baptized at

Dorchester, and at Dorchester was placed the bishopstool of the new bishoprick, the bishoprick of the West-Saxons.<sup>14</sup> I hope that there is no one here who will stumble at the word Dorchester. Some time ago, when the newspapers contained a sad story that Dorchester dykes were daily perishing, several indignant inhabitants of this shire and of its chief town wrote to say that it must be all a mistake, that none of the antiquities of Dorchester were in any way suffering, or likely to suffer. And what those indignant persons wrote was happily quite true of the only Dorchester which they seemed ever to have heard of, namely Dorchester of the Dorsætas. But unhappily the tale of destruction was quite true of the Dorchester of which it was told, Dorchester by the Thames, Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Dorchester the first seat of the West-Saxon bishoprick. Both Dorchesters, as their name shows, were Roman stations ; both have Roman antiquities ; but it is only at the Oxfordshire Dorchester, the Dorchester where Cynegils and Cwichelm and Cuthred were baptized, that there is a savage who makes it his chief business to destroy them. And I must warn you again, that, as there are two Dorchesters, so the Oxfordshire Dorchester has been at different times the seat of two distinct bishopricks. The difference has to do with that change in the boundaries of the West-Saxon kingdom of which I spoke at some length in my former paper on Ine. We have now nothing to do with the Mercian bishoprick of Dorchester, with the diocese which stretched from the Thames to the Humber, the diocese whose see was moved by Remigius of Fécamp from Dorchester to Lincoln. We have now to deal with our own spiritual parent, the West-Saxon bishoprick of Dorchester. You must bear in mind that at the time of the West-Saxon conversion Wessex was

still pressing northward rather than westward. It still took in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire ; it did not take in any part of Somerset, except the first conquest of Ceawlin between the Avon and the Axe. For such a kingdom, a kingdom stretching from Southampton to Bedford, you will see that the Oxfordshire Dorchester was a very central point, and therefore a very fit place for the planting of the bishopstool. But there began very early to be a twofold movement, both for dividing this vast diocese, and for setting up the royal city of Winchester as a rival to Dorchester. Even in the time of the second Bishop, the Frankish Agilberht, King Cenwealh for a moment divided the diocese, and placed Wini as a new Bishop at Winchester.<sup>15</sup> I hope there is no one here who needs to be told that Winchester, Venta Belgarum, Caer Gwent, did not take its name from him.<sup>16</sup> But it was not till the days of Hædde the fifth Bishop that the see was finally moved from Dorchester to Winchester,<sup>17</sup> and it was not till after Hædde's death in 705 that the vast diocese of the West-Saxons was finally divided. Now there is a fragment of a decree, said to have been passed in a synod of Archbishop Theodore about 679, which expressly forbids any change to be made in the boundaries of the diocese during the life-time of Hædde.<sup>18</sup> We understand this feeling at a later time, when a Bishop had become a great temporal lord, when the lessening of the extent of his jurisdiction would have been the lessening of his official income, and when a proposal to dismember his diocese would have had much the same sound in his ears as a proposal to dismember his dominions would have had in the ears of a temporal prince. But here, in the earliest times of Christianity, when a Bishop was still not a baron but a missionary, when one

would have thought that he would have been glad to divide his labours with another, we find Agilberht so offended at the proposal to divide his diocese that he throws up his bishoprick altogether in disgust. And, in the fragmentary decree which I have just quoted, the merits of Hædde, his having brought the relics of Saint Birinus to Winchester and so forth, are given as a reason why the diocese should not be divided during his life-time. We have here an early case of the doctrine of vested interests. It was evidently felt that the vast diocese of the West-Saxons ought to be divided; but, out of regard to the rights and the feelings of the actual Bishop, it was decreed that the change should not take place till the next vacancy. This goes on the supposition that the document preserved by Thomas Rudborne and printed by Mr. Haddan is genuine, or at all events that it preserves a record of an actual fact. But it would almost seem from a more trustworthy document, the letter of Waldhere Bishop of London to Archbishop Beorhtwald, also printed by Mr. Haddan, that the question was again raised in the year 704, before Hædde's death. In that letter, written in 705, but before the death of Hædde, Waldhere refers to a decree made the year before for the ordination of West-Saxon Bishops, which cannot mean anything except a division of the West-Saxon diocese.<sup>19</sup> But, as it is clear that this order had not been carried out, it points to exactly the same feeling as the less trustworthy document, to the unwillingness of Hædde to be disturbed in the possession of his diocese in its full extent. When Hædde was dead, the change was at once made; and we have now reached the great ecclesiastical event of the reign of Ine. The diocese whose seat had first been at Dorchester and then at Winchester was

divided into two, and their seats were severally at Winchester and at Sherboine.

The division was made with the full consent of all powers concerned, ecclesiastical and civil, including that of more than one King.<sup>20</sup> What King or Kings could have been concerned in the matter besides Ine himself? Are we to believe that we have here a reference to the Under-kings of the West-Saxons, the kinsfolk of Ine, acting as the counsellors of their over-lord? His father Cenred we can perhaps hardly fancy as living to so late a stage of his son's reign. Or are we to see in this great ecclesiastical change a combined act of Ine and the Mercian King Æthelred the son of Penda, who, about this time—for the chronology of the *Chronicles* is here a little confused—gave up his kingdom and became a monk at Bardeney?<sup>21</sup> Æthelred was a friend of Ealdhelm and a benefactor to his monastery of Malmesbury;<sup>22</sup> and, a year or two before the division of the bishoprick, when Ealdhelm had come from Rome with a bull of Pope Sergius granting privileges to Malmesbury and other West-Saxon monasteries, Æthelred is spoken of as joining with Ine in the general joy, and as sharing the presents of relics which Ealdhelm had to distribute on his return from his pilgrimage.<sup>23</sup> The place where the synod was held at which the division was made is not recorded. It was doubtless a synod, not only of Wessex, but of the whole English Church, and in such an assembly there is nothing wonderful if a King beyond the bounds of Wessex, especially a King of such an ecclesiastical turn, should be allowed to take a part. In short, the share of Æthelred in the division of the West-Saxon diocese might answer to the share of Oswald it its foundation. Or again, we must remember that no part of

our early history is more utterly shrouded in darkness than the details of the process by which the West-Saxons lost their ancient dominion north of the Thames. It may well be that some part of the original diocese of Birinus had already passed into Mercian hands. Æthelred may therefore have claimed a right to be consulted as to a diocese part of which lay within his own dominions. And this may have been the time when some of the more distant parts of the diocese were removed from their allegiance to Winchester. Be all this as it may, at once on Hædde's death the division took place ; the whole kingdom of the West-Saxons was declared to be too great for the care of a single Bishop. Winchester remained the episcopal see of the eastern, the elder part of the kingdom, while the later conquests, the conquests of Cenwealh, Centwine, and Ine himself, the land of the Sumorsætas and the Dorsætas and that famous strip of the land of the Wilsætas which escaped the hand of Ceawlin, became the new diocese of Sherborne. It has, I believe, been commonly taken for granted that Wiltshire, if not Berkshire, formed part of the Sherborne diocese. Mr. Haddan, commonly so accurate, certainly assigns Wiltshire to Sherborne.<sup>24</sup> I conceive the origin of this notion to be simply the fact that, long after, in the days of Eadward the Confessor, the dioceses of Sherborne and Ramsbury were united under the Lotharingian Hermann.<sup>25</sup> William of Malmesbury must have been led away by the fact that his own monastery stood in his own time in the diocese which had taken the place of Sherborne. He speaks of the diocese of Sherborne as taking in the counties of Wiltshire, Dorset, Berkshire, Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall ;<sup>26</sup> and elsewhere he complains that, while Winchester had two shires only, Hampshire and Surrey,

Sherborne took in all the rest of the West-Saxon dominions.<sup>27</sup> This, he complains, was an unequal division, clearly in the same spirit which we have come across before, which looked on the greatness of a Bishop as measured by the extent of his diocese. But William of Malmesbury is here plainly speaking recklessly. For, whatever we say about Devonshire, it is quite certain that the diocese of Sherborne did not take in Cornwall. Devonshire and part of Cornwall would seem to have been added to the Sherborne diocese by  $\text{\textit{\text{Ælfred}}$ }, as is implied in his grant to Asser.<sup>28</sup> But in Cornwall at least there was, not very long before  $\text{\textit{\text{Ælfred's}}$  time, a British Bishop of Cornwall, Kenstic by name, who makes his submission to Archbishop Ceolnoth.<sup>29</sup> This makes it plain that William of Malmesbury's list of shires is not to be trusted. And there is far better evidence, which, I think, shows that the diocese of Sherborne, as established by Ine, took in only, speaking roughly, the land with which we at this meeting, and especially I in this paper, are more immediately concerned. In the very remarkable entry in the Chronicles which records Ealdhelm's death in 709, Selwood is clearly marked as the boundary of the two dioceses. According to that entry, the West-Saxon land was divided—in the speaking words of our fathers, *todealed*—into two *bishopshires*, those of Daniel and Ealdhelm, and the bishopshire held by Ealdhelm is described as being “be Westanwuda”<sup>30</sup> while one copy says still more distinctly “be westan Selewuda.”<sup>31</sup> The former entry is followed by Henry of Huntingdon, who speaks of the two dioceses as being east and west of the wood<sup>32</sup>, while Ealdorman  $\text{\textit{\text{Æthelweard}}$  actually calls the diocese of Ealdhelm “Selwoodshire.”<sup>33</sup> Mr. Jones of Bradford, in his “Early Annals of the Episcopate in Wilts and Dorset,” seems

to have explained the matter quite satisfactorily.<sup>34</sup> Selwood, and with it the diocese of Ealdhelm, took in part of Wiltshire, the part containing Malmesbury and Bradford, while the rest of Wiltshire, together with Berkshire, remained to Winchester. The Sherborne diocese thus took in our own shire which we have for a moment left behind ; it took in the shire which we have this year come to visit ; and it took in the land which must, after all, be first in our thoughts when we think of the first Bishop of Sherborne, the land of Malmesbury and Bradford. Now it is plain that for the see of such a diocese, Sherborne was geographically a well-chosen spot. For a region which took in Bridport and Bedminster, Poole and Porlock, no more central place could have been found. I hope this is reason enough to defend the choice of Sherborne as an episcopal see, notwithstanding the objections of William of Malmesbury who speaks, I am sorry to say, most irreverently of the place where we are now met. His words —remember that they are his words and not mine—run as follows

“ Sherborne is a little town pleasant neither by multitude of inhabitants nor by beauty of position in which it is wonderful and almost shameful that a Bishop’s see should have remained for so many ages. Now it has been turned from a bishoprick into an abbey, by a change, not unusual in our time, in which all things are perverted by faction and fancy, and in which virtue is held in contempt and disgrace.”<sup>35</sup>

It is plain that the dark picture painted in these last words is meant to apply to mankind in general, not to the people of Sherborne in particular. And it is certain that, if Ine and Ealdhelm and all others who were concerned judged wrongly in fixing the Bishop’s see in such a place as Sherborne, they were at least no worse than the other Kings and Bishops who planted Bishops’ sees at Lindis-

farn, Selsey, and Lichfield ; they were no worse than Eadward the Elder when, in dividing the Sherborne diocese, he planted Bishops' sees at Crediton and Wells. All these places, Wells among them, are spoken of somewhere or other quite as scornfully as Sherborne is here spoken of by William of Malmesbury. Sometimes it is William himself and other grave writers, who speak with delight of the removal of bishopricks from their ancient seats to the great cities. Sometimes it is modern political reformers who talk with scorn of "wretched villages in the west of England." Sometimes we have to strive against enemies like the gay young barrister, whoever he may be, who reports the Western Circuit for the *Times*. He complains, with somewhat of surprise, of assizes being held at so out-of-the-way place as Wells. Without pretending to dive into the meaning of earlier and graver enemies, it is plain that our last assailant simply forgot that assizes are held for the benefit of the people of the shires among whom justice is to be done, not for the convenience of learned gentlemen who come to them in search of briefs. William of Malmesbury wrote in the spirit of an age which had adopted the continental notion of a bishoprick, and which therefore despised the lowly seats in which so many of the earlier bishopricks were placed. But perhaps both Wells and Sherborne, as long as they keep their respective minsters and their appendages, may contrive to outlive the contempt, both of older and newer, of graver and lighter scorners.

But I must come back to my ecclesiastical geography. As I read the words of the Chronicler, the description of William of Malmesbury ought to be turned about. It was Sherborne which got two shires only, and Winchester which got all the rest of the West-Saxon kingdom. The

Bishop east of Selwood, the Bishop of Winchester in the new sense, kept under his care Hampshire, the cradle of the kingdom, Surrey, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and the West-Saxon lands beyond the Thames. For such a district there was no common tribal or local name, and the Bishop of Winchester therefore always takes his title from his city. So, for the same reason, the Bishop of the Sumorsætas and Dorsætas is called Bishop of Sherborne, or, if he is not, he has to be described, or rather pointed at, in the odd way which we have seen already, as “the Bishop west of the Wood.” But, when the two shires were separated under two Bishops, the tribal style revives, and we hear of the Bishop “on Sumorsætan” and “on Dorsætan,” rather than of the Bishop of Wells and the Bishop of Sherborne.

For the two new dioceses Bishops had to be found. Winchester, in the new sense of the name, was filled by a prelate who held his see for a good many years, but whose career was not very memorable. He survived Ine; he survived Bæda, who speaks of him as the Bishop in possession when he wrote.<sup>36</sup> He went to Rome in the year 721, the year in which Ine slew Cynewulf the Ætheling.<sup>37</sup> Ten years later he consecrated Archbishop Tatwine.<sup>38</sup> At last, in 744, after an episcopate of thirty-nine, or, as some reckon, forty-two years, he resigned his bishoprick amid a storm of shooting stars, and died the year after.<sup>39</sup> He was a West-Saxon by birth, and he is spoken of as a man of learning<sup>40</sup>, but there is not very much to say about him. The first Bishop of Sherborne, on the other hand, is one of the most famous men in our early history. But of him also there is less to say in connexion with his diocese than in some other aspects of him, seeing he held the bishoprick which had been created for him for four years only. The fame of Ealdhelm

as one of the lights of our early literature, alike in our own tongue and in Latin, was won, not as Bishop of Sherborne but in his earlier character of Abbot of Malmesbury. He is brought home to our subject in a special way, because there is no reason to doubt that he was a kinsman of Ine, a member of the royal house of the West-Saxons. I mentioned in my former paper that William of Malmesbury mentions and refutes the belief that Ealdhelm was a nephew of Ine by a brother who is called Kenten. This comes from the earlier life of Ealdhelm by Faricius,<sup>41</sup> the learned physician who was first a monk of Malmesbury, then Abbot of Abingdon, and who was so near succeeding Saint Anselm in the primacy of Canterbury.<sup>42</sup> William, though so much his inferior in ecclesiastical rank, yet thinks he has a right to correct him, seeing that Faricius being a foreigner and not knowing the English tongue, had fallen into some mistakes.<sup>43</sup> One of these was speaking of Kenten the father of Ealdhelm as a brother of Ine, whereas he was not a brother, though a near kinsman. By Kenten as I have before said,<sup>44</sup> I can only conceive that Centwine is meant. If so, we have in Saint Ealdhelm the son of a King, though not a born *Ætheling*, as his father Centwine did not come to the crown till 676, while Ealdhelm must have been born long before, most likely about 640. It is however rather against this parentage that the only recorded wife of Centwine was a sister of Eormenburgh, the wife of Ecgfrith of Northumberland. As Ecgfrith was born in 645, most likely later than Ealdhelm, Ealdhelm could hardly have been a son of his wife's sister. But of course Ealdhelm may have been the son of an earlier wife of Centwine, and, if Ealdhelm was not the son of Centwine, it is not easy to see what his connexion with the royal family was. It is doubtless somewhat strange

that, if Centwine, a King, really was the father of Ealdhelm, Ealdhelm should never be distinctly spoken of directly as the son of King Centwine, but only as the nephew or other kinsman of King Ine. But perhaps, after all, this is not very wonderful. As I just before said, even if Ealdhelm was the son of Centwine, he was not in the technical sense a King's son, for he must have been a monk, and perhaps abbot, before his father became King. The only statements as to his parentage are that made by Faricius and the correction of it made by William of Malmesbury. Now in the days of Henry the First, especially with a foreigner like Faricius, Ine was a famous name, while Centwine was nearly forgotten. It therefore would not be wonderful if Ealdhelm was more thought of as the kinsman of Ine than as the son of Centwine. Or we may put it that Centwine was looked on rather as the kinsman of Ine and father of Ealdhelm, than as the King who drove the Britons to the sea. But, if Ealdhelm was the son of Centwine, then he came of the most kingly and most Christian stock of the once most heathen race of the Gewissas. The son of Centwine would be the nephew of Cwichelm and Cenwealh and the grandson of the first Christian King Cynegils. And if, by any stretching of our genealogy, by supposing one of two sisters to have been very much older than another, we could make out Ealdhelm to have been the son of a sister of Eormenburgh, we may trace him almost certainly in the female line to the royal family of Kent. For it is in that line only that we find so many of the names beginning with *Eormen*. And among the daughters of Eormenred, the son of Eadbald, the grandson of the first Christian Bretwalda Æthelberht, we actually find two bearing the same name of Eormenburgh, which looks as if one had been borne after the death of her

sister. But of the two sisters Eormenburgh, daughters of Eormenred, the only one whose history we can trace with certainty was the wife of the West-Mercian Ealdorman Merewald. Merewald was a contemporary of Ine, and he could not well have married the mother of Ealdhelm, even as the possible widow of Centwine.<sup>45</sup> It would be pleasant if we could trace Ealdhelm to the line of Æthelberht as well as to the line of Cynric and Cerdic. But no certain evidence seems to be had in that quarter, and it may be safer to be satisfied with setting down Ealdhelm as a member of the West-Saxon royal house, and as most likely a son of the victorious King Centwine. If so, and if, as it would seem, Ealdhelm was the only son of Centwine, it was doubtless his monastic profession which of course distinguished him for being proposed for the kingdom. And thus it would be Ealdhelm's devotion to a religious life which opened the way for the transfer of the crown from the descendants of Cutha, represented by the sons of Cynegils, to the line of Ceawlin represented by Ceadwalla and Ine.

To the Kings of the house of Cerdic, and of other English royal houses, who laid down their crowns and became saints, we have thus a fair right to add Ealdhelm as one whose saintship hindered him becoming a King. Instead of filling the West-Saxon throne, he rose, as Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne, to the highest rank save one in the English Church. In those days, when royal and princely saints were so common, Ealdhelm was the brightest light, but still only one light among several, in the saintly galaxy of the West-Saxon house. Ine's sisters, Ealdhelm's kinswomen, Cwenburgh and Cuthburgh were placed on the roll of acknowledged saints. Ine and Æthelburgh—we might add Ceadwalla himself in

the days of his penitence and baptism—might almost, in the ideas of those days, have claimed the same title. The parents too of Ealdhelm himself, whether we make them Centwine and Eormenburgh or any others, are spoken of by his earlier biographer as persons of remarkable piety.<sup>46</sup> When Ine then placed his kinsman in the chair of his newly-founded bishoprick, it was no case of nepotism, no case of thrusting a younger son of a royal house into the chief places of the priesthood simply as a provision. The age for that kind of abuse had not yet come, and I may add that it is an abuse which was not common in England in any age. When the choice of Ine fell upon Ealdhelm, it fell upon a kinsman indeed, but a kinsman who was by common consent the most eminent churchman in his dominions. Ealdhelm's fame, we must remember, had been already won as Abbot of Malmesbury. It was as Abbot that he went to Rome; it was as Abbot that he wrote his famous letter to King Gerent on the abuses of the British Church. It may be worth a moment's thought whether this letter, addressed as it was to a King of West-Wales by one who was afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, may not have helped to foster the notion that West-Wales formed an original part of the Sherborne diocese. As Bishop, the chief work of Ealdhelm was that which we should naturally look for in the first Bishop of a new see, the building of his own church.<sup>47</sup> As Abbot of Malmesbury Ealdhelm had been one of the greatest builders of his time. The realm of Ine was adorned with a number of churches, the work of his saintly kinsman. Of these one happily remains to us, the church reared by Ealdhelm on the scene of his uncle Cenwealh's victory, the lately rescued church of Saint Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon.<sup>48</sup> There it stands, telling its tale that the

English of the seventh and eighth centuries were not savages unable to put stone and mortar together, and recalling in its peculiar style the work of Honorius—it might be more respectful to say the works of Stilicho—over the remodelled gates of Rome. But, in the days of William of Malmesbury, Ealdhelm's church at Bradford was but one of a whole group of his churches which still survived or had been only lately destroyed. This is a fact to be noticed. Very few buildings of the days of Ine and Bæda could have been standing in the days of Henry the First and William of Malmesbury. The works of Ealdhelm escaped rebuilding, when so many minsters were rebuilt, in the days of Eadgar, in the days of Eadward the Confessor, in the days of William the Conqueror. The oldest parts of the existing minsters of Malmesbury and Sherborne succeeded immediately to the works of Ealdhelm. The saint, as Abbot, had built the great minster of Malmesbury alongside of the lowlier building of the first founder Maidulf, and he also built two smaller churches within the same precinct. Of these the church of Maidulf seems to have vanished shortly before William's time; of one of Ealdhelm's smaller churches traces only were to be seen in his day; but Ealdhelm's head church at Malmesbury William had seen while it was still perfect; it was only in his own days that it began to give way to the church of which a large part still remains. And, both from his words and from the evidence of the existing building, we may be pretty sure that Ealdhelm's nave was still standing when William wrote. Now William of Malmesbury lived at a time when great architectural changes were going on, when Bishop Roger of Salisbury was bringing in the later and more enriched form of the Norman variety of Romanesque. William had a keen eye for all those changes; he marked,

as he has shown in passages which have been quoted over and over again, the difference between Primitive and Norman Romanesque, between earlier and later Norman.<sup>49</sup> Yet he here speaks of the primitive building of Ealdhelm with great respect, and he distinctly marks it as surpassing all ancient buildings—meaning perhaps all buildings before the bringing in of the new style under Eadward—both in size and in beauty.<sup>50</sup> It was a stone building with a wooden roof, a fact which comes out in a curious legend about one of the beams of that roof.<sup>51</sup> In short, the building was doubtless something like Bradford magnified to the scale of a minster, a building which we may be sure would be by no means contemptible. We may perhaps get some kind of notion of its general effect from the famous church of Romainmoutier in the canton of Vaud, the only large church north of the Alps which survives from those early times.<sup>52</sup> We may notice that William speaks of the remarkable size of the building, as compared with most buildings of the same early date. This is a very important point ; for everything that I see convinces me more and more that what the Norman builders despised in the English churches was mainly their inferiority of scale according to their own standard. Ealdhelm's church at Malmesbury was larger than most of the early churches, and therefore it lasted longer. It did not yield to the first impulse of rebuilding in the days of the Conqueror ; it did yield to the second impulse which set in with the architectural improvements of Bishop Roger. And, as for work and ornament, there is no greater mistake than to hold that the plainest work is necessarily the oldest ; the Primitive style is often much more enriched than the early Norman. When the minster of Lauresheim or Lorsch

was burned late in the eleventh century, the monks said sorrowfully that they rebuilt it how they could, but that they could not rival the work of the eighth century.<sup>53</sup> And they spoke truly; the remains of the church of the days of Henry the Fourth are not to be compared for a moment with the gateway of the days of Charles the Great. We thus have distinct evidence both that the ancient minster of Malmesbury stood till the building of the church of which part still remains, and that one who had seen both of them, and was well able to compare them, did not wholly despise the elder building. So it was at Sherborne also. William of Malmesbury records the building of Ealdhelm's minster there after he became Bishop, though he naturally does not dwell upon it at the same length as he dwells on matters which concerned his own house at Malmesbury. But he says that he had himself seen it, and he speaks of it as a wonderful work.<sup>54</sup> Here then at Sherborne, as well as at Malmesbury, the church of Ealdhelm stood till the days of Roger. It was doubtless when Roger, in 1122, turned the priory of Sherborne and the abbey of Horton into the single abbey of Sherborne<sup>55</sup> that the church of Ealdhelm gave way to the earliest parts of the present building.

We must then picture to ourselves the abbey church of Malmesbury and the cathedral church of Sherborne, as they came from the hand of Ealdhelm, as buildings presenting what we may suppose to have been the likeness of a greater Bradford. But, besides the two great churches, Ealdhelm was also the builder of several smaller ones. He founded monasteries at Frome and at Bradford; both of these had ceased to exist as monasteries in William's time, but in his days the church was standing

at Frome as well as at Bradford.<sup>56</sup> He built another church at Warcham, which in William's days was still standing, but in ruins. He adds that the shepherds in the neighbourhood were in the habit of taking shelter in it in bad weather, because within its walls the rain never fell.<sup>57</sup> At Bruton, besides the church of Saint Mary to which King Ine gave the precious altar which Ealdhelm had brought from Rome,<sup>58</sup> Ealdhelm built the greater church of Saint Peter. This also was standing in William of Malmesbury's days, when the choir was, as in so many other cases, rebuilt on a greater scale.<sup>59</sup> I insist upon all this, because it marks the time of Ine as a time of remarkable activity in the way of church-building. This was in fact one of the most flourishing periods of the ancient English Church. The zeal of Kings and Bishops had still somewhat of the fervour of new conversion about it, and the destruction which was afterwards wrought by the Danish invasions was still far off. With Ealdhelm in the South, with Wilfrith and Benedict Bishop in the North, churches were rising fast in many places. And it is remarkable that we have more remains of the buildings of this very early time than we have of any later time till we reach the eleventh century. And our West-Saxon Bradford, the work of the reign of Ine and of the abbacy of Ealdhelm, may fairly be set against the two famous churches of the North, the churches of Benedict at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. If we have but one to set against two, we may say that Bradford is all but perfect, while Jarrow and Monkwearmouth have been largely altered in later, though still ancient, times. In mere workmanship Bradford altogether surpasses the contemporary parts of the Northumbrian buildings. And as for their personal memories, if we must yield the first place among the native worthies of the early English

Church to Northumbrian Bæda, we may fairly claim a place only second to his for West-Saxon Ealdhelm.

Thus the greatest ecclesiastical work of Ine was the division of the unwieldly West-Saxon diocese, and the creation of the episcopal see of Sherborne. How far the work was strictly the personal work of Ine, how far of the other Bishops and Kings and Under-kings who are said to have agreed to the change, we cannot exactly say. But Ine must have been the chief worker of all in such a matter within his own kingdom, and we may be sure that Ine and Ealdhelm worked together. What Ealdhelm suggested Ine did,<sup>60</sup> save only in one case where Ealdhelm unwillingly did what Ine suggested. That was when Ealdhelm was constrained against his will to take the charge of the new diocese upon himself.<sup>61</sup> I may add a word or two as to the later history of this their work. The history of the diocese of Sherborne has been minutely treated by Mr. Jones. The general results seem to be that, after the complete conquest of West-Wales, Devonshire at least, if not Cornwall, was added to the Sherborne diocese—that in 909 the dioceses of the Sumorsætas and Defnsætas, with their sees at Wells and Crediton, were taken out of the diocese of Sherborne—that, at the same time, the diocese of Wiltshire and Berkshire, with its see at Ramsbury, was taken out of the diocese of Winchester. And I would guess that it was at this time that that part of Wiltshire which had belonged to Sherborne was added to Ramsbury, as it certainly formed part of that diocese in the time of Eadward the Confessor.<sup>61</sup> The diocese of Sherborne now contained the shire of the Dorsætas only, and its bishop-stool, which had been very central when Sumorsætas and Dorsætas had one Bishop between them, became by no

means central when the Dorsætas had a Bishop of their own. The see of Sherborne went on till 1058, when the two bishoprics of Dorset and of Wiltshire and Berkshire, were joined together by Hermann. But he, in 1075, forsook both Sherborne and Ramsbury, to place his throne on the waterless hill of the elder Salisbury, just as, five and twenty years before, the bishoprics of Devonshire and Cornwall were finally united under Leofric of Exeter.<sup>62</sup> From this time Sherborne ceased to be an episcopal see. But Ealdhelm's minster went on as the church of a priory which was still specially connected with the bishoprick. The church of Sherborne was in the time of Æthelred served by secular canons. Whether they had always been there from the time of Ealdhelm or not, I have no evidence to show; in his day indeed the distinction between monks and canons was not so sharply drawn as it was afterwards. But, in the year 999 or 1000, it would seem that Bishop WulfSIGE was allowed to change his canons for monks;<sup>63</sup> and these monks and their prior doubtless went on when the bishopstool was moved to the church of secular canons, first at Old and then at New Salisbury. The Bishop, as appears by Domesday, remained temporal lord of Sherborne, but nine of the manors which he held were set apart for the maintenance of the monks.<sup>64</sup> The monks had therefore no freehold of their own, much as the canons of Wells at the same time held their property of the Bishop.<sup>65</sup> The Bishop and monks are mentioned as a body which was in the habit of acting together, in that curious entry, the only mention of any of the Conqueror's sons in the great Survey, which says how William the Red took away a possession of the church of Sherborne without the consent of the Bishop and the monks.<sup>66</sup> This sounds as if Sherborne, even after the bishopstool

had been moved to Salisbury, was still a kind of secondary episcopal church, somewhat as Ripon, Southwell, and Beverley were to York. Lastly, as I have already said, in 1122 Bishop Roger made Sherborne an abbey. The Abbot and Convent then became an independent corporation; and the Abbot, like the Abbots of Muchelney and Athelney in the church of Wells, held the parish church of Sherborne as a prebend in the church of Salisbury.<sup>67</sup> On the history of the Bishop's lordship and castle of Sherborne I will not intrude.

But the creation of the bishoprick of Sherborne was not the only ecclesiastical work of Ine, or even the only ecclesiastical work in which the names of Ine and Ealdhelm are joined together. That Ine was a benefactor to his friend and kinsman's monastery at Malmesbury we might almost have taken for granted, even if it had not been so recorded.<sup>68</sup> And we may guess that, in his great works of building there and elsewhere, the Abbot was largely helped by the bounty of the King. But it is hard to trace out anything in detail as to the other ecclesiastical works of Ine, because nearly all the charters which profess to contain the records of those works are held by the best scholars to be spurious. Some of them are so manifestly spurious as to leave no room for any discussion on the point. The forgeries are old; most of them are older than William of Malmesbury, and they were, doubtless in good faith, accepted by him as genuine. But here again we must remember what the spuriousness of a charter implies and what it does not. It implies that it must be used with great caution; it implies that we cannot accept any of the details of the document, unless they are confirmed by some other evidence direct or in-

direct. But it by no means follows that the general fact which the spurious charter professes to record is, because of the spuriousness of the charter, to be cast away as a mere fiction. By spurious charters we understand all charters which are not genuine contemporary documents, or exact copies of contemporary documents, issued by the persons whose names they bear. Now all these are certainly not to be set down as forgeries in the modern sense. Some undoubtedly are so ; some charters are sheer inventions, designed to claim for a particular monastery an antiquity to which it had no right, to claim for it some privilege to which it had no right or a doubtful right, or to trace back some real privilege to a time earlier than that when it really began. Charters of this kind are forgeries in the strictest sense, and they are of course utterly untrustworthy with regard to the particular points which they wish to establish. But, just as a romance or a play may, for many points, for manners, for local colouring and so forth, be as good evidence as a true history, so even a spurious charter of this worst kind may be evidence for incidental points, points which the forger had no motive to falsify. In this way, while the document proves nothing as to the times in which it professes to have been written, it may very easily prove something as to the time when it actually was written. But, besides these, there is another class of spurious charters which cannot be called forgeries in the same sense. We have some recorded cases in which a man whose charters, that is his title-deeds, had been burned or otherwise lost, asked for and obtained a legal permission to have new charters made.<sup>69</sup> He or his scribe would write down the old charters from memory, as nearly as they could remember them. We will suppose that they set to work with the most honest purpose, not meaning

to claim anything to which they had not a lawful right. Still it is quite certain that they would make some mistakes, and they would most likely fall into some contradictions as to dates and witnesses, which a modern scholar would at once find out, and would set down the document as spurious. Spurious in a certain sense such a document is ; a charter of Ine written afresh in this way a hundred years after Ine's time is not a genuine document of the time of Ine. But it is a document written without any intent to deceive, and the mistakes in it are mere mistakes and not frauds. Such a document may be nearly as useful for historical purposes as one that is actually genuine. It is at least as good as the witness of a secondary writer, who follows a contemporary authority but makes some mistakes in so doing. Or again, we may believe that it often happened that, when charters were burned or lost, those who were interested produced copies which were written in the same way from memory, but which they meant untruly to pass off as the originals. Here we have a fraud, a fraud carrying with it a certain degree of guilt, but certainly not the same degree of guilt as when the matter of the document is actually invented for a fraudulent purpose. It is hardly my business now to attempt to decide to which of these classes all the charters belong which profess to be grants of Ine or Hædde or Ealdhelm, but which Mr. Kemble, always with great probability, sometimes with absolute certainty, marked as spurious. In fact, out of the great number which were believed in by William of Malmesbury, Mr. Kemble believed in only three or four. It is therefore only to these three or four that we can appeal with perfect certainty. But the others are not to be wholly cast aside. While we cannot trust their details, we may accept them as witnessing to a general

belief in certain main facts, and thereby as affording a presumption in favour of those facts. Such a presumption, when it is supported by any high degree of external probability, rises to the level of a respectable form of secondary evidence, and it may be accepted as long as it is not set aside by direct proof.

I have made all this long preface to a very short story; but I have made it in order to show why I have only a short story to tell, where some may have expected a long one. What I have had in my eye is the mass of charters professing to be grants of Ine and of contemporaries of Ine, in favour of various West-Saxon churches, and above all in favour of the Abbey of Glastonbury. Everything relating to the early history of that renowned church is so enveloped in legend that one has to tread one's way with the greatest caution at every step. We have to tread much as the mythical Glæsting, be he Welshman or Englishman, trod, when he set out from Ashby Thorn somewhere in the middle of England. He had a sow which, while other sows have but four legs, was blessed with eight, and he followed her from his midland home as far as Wells. Thence, the tale goes on, he followed her by a crooked and swampy road, known to after ages as the Sow-way, till he found her suckling her pigs under an apple tree in an island. He found that island, rich as it was in apples, to be a pleasant place to dwell in; he brought thither all his household and dwelled there all the days of his life. Glæsting, thus settled in his island, became the patriarch of the inhabitants of the island, the *gens* of the Glaestingas. Moreover the old church, the wooden church, the *ligneæ basilica* where Cnut worshipped, arose on the spot where the sow was found under the apple tree, and the apples of that tree were called in the Eng-

lish tongue “old-church apples,” and the sow herself was honoured with the name of “old-church sow.”<sup>70</sup> Now this story is at any rate as good as the other early Glastonbury stories about Joseph of Arimathæa, about Saint Patrick and Saint David, Saint Fagan and others, some of whom are certainly not mythical persons in themselves, but all of whom are mythical as regards Glastonbury.<sup>71</sup> The story of the sow has at least the advantage over the others that it looks two ways, and gives materials, if for no body else, yet at least for the comparative mythologer. The gentleman whom some of us met a year ago at Totness, who believed in Brute the Trojan, would doubtless be delighted with a story in which one of the adventures of the pious *Æneas* is repeated in the life of a man who was, for aught I know, one of his descendants settled in our part of the world. For me the attraction lies on the other side. If there is a sow and pigs in the legend of *Æneas*, if there is a sow and pigs in the legend of *Glæsting*, there is also a sow and pigs, if not in the history, at least in the legend, of *Ine*.<sup>72</sup> Wherever, in short, we go in this part of Britain, we light on some thing or other which brings back our hero to our remembrance.

I shall not now attempt to unravel the early Glastonbury legends. But I may remind you that Dr. Guest holds that Glastonbury, even as *Ynysvitrin*, was not a foundation of that amazing antiquity which the local legends attribute to it. He holds that it was founded, or at least grew into importance, only after the Britons had lost their earlier holy place at Amesbury.<sup>73</sup> But his view, no less than the legendary story, gives me all that I need. Whether we give an earlier or a later date to the origin of the great British monastery, no one denies that Glastonbury was a British monastery; no one asserts

or hints that it began its monastic being after the English Conquest. Whether the monastery of Avalon was an old or a new house at the time when Cenwealh drove the Britons to the Parret, it is agreed on all hands that it was then already in being. Glastonbury is then, on any showing, a tie between the Briton and the Englishman, between the older Christianity of our island and the newer, between the race which we overthrew and the race to which we ourselves belong. It is a tie between all these things such as is not to be found on any other spot in Britain. The talk about the ancient British Church of which some people are so fond, which is mere rubbish when it is talked at Canterbury or York or Winchester, is rubbish no longer when it is talked at Glastonbury. Glastonbury is the great memorial of the second stage of English conquest, of the stage when the conquerors, having exchanged the creed of Woden and Thunder for the creed of Christ, deemed it enough to conquer and no longer sought to destroy. Glastonbury is among churches what Exeter is among cities.<sup>74</sup> As Exeter is the one city of the first rank, so Glastonbury is the one church of the first rank, which lived through the storm of English conquest, which passed into the hands of our victorious fathers as a trophy of victory undestroyed and unplundered. There the continuity between the old and the new state of things was never broken. There was a time when Bath and Chester lay in ruins, as Anderida and Silchester lie still ; there was a time when the voice of Christian worship was silenced in York and London, as it has since been silenced at Athelney and Cerne. But the house of Ynysvitrin never lay in ruins ; the voice of Christian worship was never silenced there till the sixteenth century overthrew what the seventh had spared. The house changed its name ; it changed its

language ; British *Ynysvitrin* changed into English *Glastonbury* ; but there was no such gap as that which parts the British and the English history of either the northern or the southern metropolis. The Christian West-Saxon spared and honoured and enriched the holy place of the Christian Briton. Thus much we may safely say ; but, if we seek for details, we have to struggle through a mist of legend, through a yet denser mist of spurious documents. We hardly dare to assert that *Cenwealh* and *Centwine* were among the benefactors of *Glastonbury*, because the charters which claim to be their grants are spurious beyond doubt.<sup>75</sup> Still, at least as regards *Cenwealh*, we may feel all but certain that the spurious document records a real fact. The house of *Ynysvitrin* did live through the English Conquest, through the conquests of *Cenwealh* himself. It was therefore *Cenwealh* who spared it, and it must have been *Cenwealh* to whom it owed a second life as an English foundation. We may therefore, almost from the necessity of the case, set *Cenwealh* down as a benefactor of the house, though the extent and nature of his grants are recorded only in a document which we cannot trust for details. When we come to *Ine*, we have a clearer light. Among the very few trustworthy documents of this age we have one of *Ine* himself,<sup>76</sup> and another of Bishop *Hædde*,<sup>77</sup> in favour of the abbey of *Glastonbury*, which Mr. Kemble does not reject as spurious. We can therefore set *Ine* down with certainty as a benefactor of the church which lived on to share the reverence alike of the conquered and of the conqueror. And, having thus fixed *Ine* as an undoubted benefactor of *Glastonbury*, we may have less scruple in accepting the statement, which represents *Ine* as being the founder of that special aspect of the church of *Glastonbury* which was its distinguishing

feature among the greater English churches, and of which we see the imperishable traces even in its ruins. That statement rests on no such distinct evidence as that which shows Ine to have been a benefactor of the abbey in other ways, but it is uncontradicted and it is in every way likely in itself. Now the distinguishing characteristic of Glastonbury is that there the British and the English church, the church of the conquered and the church of the conquerors, stood for some ages side by side, and that, in a figure, they stand side by side still. The British church, the *ligneæ basilica*, lived on till, in the twelfth century, it gave way to the great western Lady chapel, latterly called the chapel of Saint Joseph. To the east of this primitive building, several successive churches arose, near to it, but in no way interfering with it or touching it. It was not till the thirteenth century that the walls of the two buildings were made to join, and even that change cannot be said to have wholly thrown them into one.<sup>78</sup> Of these successive churches, it was the belief of William of Malmesbury's age that the earliest was the work of Ine.<sup>79</sup> William had not indeed seen it himself, as he had seen the churches of Ealdhelm at Malmesbury and at Sherborne, for the eastern church at Glastonbury had been more than once rebuilt between Ine's days and his. But the statement has great likelihood on its side. We have the facts that the eastern and western churches were kept distinct till the thirteenth century, and that the primitive British building lived on till the twelfth century. This shows a special respect for the ancient foundation and its remains, which is much more in character with the age of Ine than with the age of Dunstan or any later time. It is plain that the man who first built a church at Glastonbury after the English Conquest deliberately chose to preserve the

primitive building, to keep his own new work altogether distinct from it. Such a determination quite falls in with the various facts and traditions about Ine, all of which place him in a special relation towards the British part of his subjects. But it is in no way in character with Dunstan or with his age, an age when Glastonbury had long been thoroughly English. Had Dunstan found only the wooden church, he would most likely have pulled it down and built his own on the site. Ine, building when Glastonbury was still a recent conquest and when there was still a distinct British element in the country, would be far more likely to respect the primitive building. It is to Ine then, in all likelihood, that we owe the special peculiarities of Glastonbury. He built a church, distinct from the wooden church, and the wooden church survived his building. Not a twig of the one, not a stone of the other, is there now; but they are both there in a figure. The wooden church, the British church, is still represented by its immediate successor, the so-called Saint Joseph's chapel. The church of Ine is still represented by the remains of the great eastern church, the last of several which have risen and fallen on its site. In this way, though nothing of Ine's work has been there for eight or nine hundred years, yet the influence of his hand may be seen still. It is to the fact that Ine built his church distinct from the British church, setting in this an example which later rebuilders followed, that we owe that special character of Glastonbury which in England proper is very rare, most likely unique. In other parts of these islands there are more examples of an earlier church being left standing alongside of a later one. Such examples may be seen at Saint Andrew's and at Killaloe; and all those groups of seven churches of which so many are to be found in Ireland may in truth pass as instances of the same rule. The

one most akin to Glastonbury is at Cashel. There the later church, built between the original church called Cormac's chapel and its round tower, has grown up so as to join the elder church, in the same way as at Glastonbury, though not so as to join the same part of the building. If the example of Ine had been more commonly followed in this matter, our store of antiquities would have been much greater than it is. The building of a later church would not have so constantly involved the destruction of an elder one. Saint Wulfstan might have built his own minster, without having to mourn the hard necessity of sweeping away the minster of Saint Oswald.<sup>80</sup>

The one other church of our own district with which the name of Ine is connected with any shadow of probability is that of Wells. I suppose that I need hardly go about to refute the fable which tells of a series of Bishops of Congresbury; I am sure at least that the Vicar of Congresbury is the last man who will ask me to take upon myself that needless labour. Daniel, Bishop of Congresbury, who in the legend marries Ine and *Æ*thelburh, and who moves his episcopal chair from Congresbury to Wells, is as mythical as the rest of the legend of Ine and *Æ*thelburh in which he finds his place.<sup>81</sup> As far as his name goes, he is clearly no other than Daniel, the first separate Bishop of Winchester, moved to the wrong side of the wood. It is not a bad suggestion of Mr. Hunter's that the name of Congresbury in this legend is likely to be due to a confusion with Kingsbury Episcopi, which was an old possession of the see of Wells, while Congresbury, one of the lordships in dispute between Harold and Gisa,<sup>82</sup> was a comparatively late one. Mr. Hunter, though he knew better than to believe in a series

of Bishops of Congresbury, was still half inclined to believe in a series of Bishops of Kingsbury, for whom there is no better authority.<sup>83</sup> But it is quite possible that the Bishops of Wells, or even those of Sherborne while Somerset formed part of their diocese, may have been locally spoken of as Bishops of Kingsbury. In the same way we have lists of Bishops of Sunning, who are no other than the Bishops of Wiltshire or Ramsbury.<sup>84</sup> Unless the tale about the Bishops of Congresbury is a mere invention, which I am always unwilling to believe of any tale if I can help it, this is the only way in which I can understand how it may have grown up. There were Bishops who, in a certain sense, were Bishops of Kingsbury, and the likeness of the names Kingsbury and Congresbury led the two places to be confounded,

But, however this may be, it is certain that no bishopstool was translated from Congresbury or elsewhere to Wells in the time of Ine. The separate bishoprick of the Sumorsætas, with its bishopstool at Wells, does not begin till Eadward the Elder.<sup>85</sup> Yet I am loath altogether to give up the long standing tradition which connects the name of Ine with the church of Wells. This is a tradition which has no certain evidence whatever in its favour; but, on the other hand, there is no certain evidence against it, and it has some degree of likelihood in itself. As I argued earlier in this paper, a really old tradition, as distinguished from a modern guess, does, when uncontradicted by positive evidence, count for something. We have nearly as good reason for connecting Ine with Wells as we have for connecting Winfrith with Crediton. As I have argued elsewhere,<sup>85</sup> though there certainly was no bishoprick at Wells before the time of Eadward the Elder, yet, if we conceive that Ine founded there a church of some kind

with a body of priests, we can better understand why Eadward the Elder should have chosen Wells as the seat of his new bishoprick. The only document belonging to Wells, earlier than the time of Eadward the Elder, is the undoubtedly spurious charter of Cynewulf. But, as I have already said, a spurious charter may often describe a real state of things, and it is so far in favour of this charter that it does not speak of a Bishop. A forgery which was a mere forgery, which was seeking to establish some imaginary fact or claim, would have been almost certain to carry back the bishoprick of Wells to a time earlier than its real beginning. But this charter does not speak of a Bishop, or indeed of any officer with any definite title ; it speaks merely of the church or minster of Saint Andrew and of those who served God therein.<sup>86</sup> I cannot therefore affirm that Ine was a founder or benefactor at Wells, as I can affirm that he was a founder or benefactor at Sherborne, Malmesbury, and Glastonbury. All that I can say is that there is a certain likelihood that he was a founder at Wells, and that there is no distinct evidence that he was not.

I have lastly to speak of one other place, a place within the bounds of the West-Saxon kingdom, but far away from our own part of it, where Ine appears in the local history in a two-fold character, first as a spoiler and then as a benefactor. This is at Abingdon. Some extracts from the local History of that monastery I made in an appendix to my former paper.<sup>87</sup> The same story is told in more than one place of that History. But, at all events, whatever amount of faith we may be inclined to give to the story, Ine was in the end so fully reconciled with the monks of Abingdon by his later benefactions towards building their church that they counted him among their founders.<sup>88</sup>

I have now done with Ine in his second character. We have seen him at Taunton as the conqueror and military founder; we have seen him at Sherborne, and not at Sherborne only, as the ecclesiastical founder. We have spoken of him in these two characters in the two places where those two characters are those which most naturally attach themselves to his name. But there is a third character of Ine which we may look on as higher than either of the others, a character, at all events, in which we learn more from his career than from either of the others. This third character I have as yet left untouched. I have spoken of Ine the conqueror and of Ine the founder; I have still to speak of Ine the lawgiver. To extend the boundaries of the West-Saxon kingdom, to put its ecclesiastical divisions on a more reasonable footing, to call fortresses and minsters into being, may in his own day have well seemed greater deeds than the less brilliant work of putting the usages of his people into the form of a regular code. They were deeds which gave more scope for the panegyrics of the chronicler and the minstrel than the task of fixing the penalty for crimes, of determining the rights of the various classes of his subjects, of decreeing how much greater should be the value of the descendant of the conquerors than the value of the descendant of the conquered. The Laws of Ine, the earliest monument of West-Saxon jurisprudence, are the laws which, as Wessex grew into England, we may look on as the beginning of the Laws of England, as the ground-work of the last law which has received the assent of the sovereign who wears the crown of Ine. As such, they are among the most precious monuments of our early history. They are a full and living picture of one stage in the progress of our nation; they are our great monument of

that stage of our history when Britons and Englishmen were still marked off from each other by a broad line, but when they could already dwell together as members of the same kingdom and governed by the same law. As such they teach us more than the victory over Gerent, more than the pilgrimage to Rome, more than the rearing of the fortress of Taunton or of the minster of Sherborne. Ine the conqueror is specially at home at Taunton ; Ine the ecclesiastical founder is specially at home at Sherborne ; but Ine the law-giver does not belong to this or that town or church or castle ; he is the common possession of the whole West-Saxon realm. Yet, as the special character of his laws is that they were put forth for a people among whom the distinction between Englishman and Briton was still in full life, they are in some sort a peculiar possession of one part of the West-Saxon realm beyond all others. They belong specially to that part of his kingdom whose needs Ine must have had chiefly in his eye, when he secured the conquered no less than the conqueror, in the possession of his lands and in the protection of the law. Those provisions of the laws of Ine which give his code its greatest historical value must have been far oftener enforced by the Tone than by the Thames, by the Avon that flows by Bath than by the Avon that flows by Salisbury. And, if there be any spot in which the common law-giver of Celt and Teuton is specially at home, it is in that common sanctuary of both races where the bones of Eadgar and the Eadmunds were laid, as men deemed, beside the bones of Arthur. If then there is one spot more than another where we can fittingly discuss the Laws of Ine, that spot is to be found in the holy Isle of Avalon. Whenever then we meet a second time, as we did fifteen years ago, beneath the shadow of the sacred mount and the fallen minster of

Glastonbury, I will again gladly take up my pen to speak of Ine as the first recorded law-giver of the West-Saxon people, as I have already spoken of him as the conqueror of Gerent and the friend of Ealdhelm.

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## NOTES.

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(1). See Dr. Guest in the Salisbury volume of the Archæological Institute, p. 63.

(2). This remark is made by Mr. Haddan, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents i. 674. The document will be found in Cod. Dipl. ii. 54.

(3). Mr. Kemble in his Index refers to the earliest document about Sherborne as being no. 252 of his collection. But no. 252 (vol. ii. p. 33) is a Worcestershire document. There is most likely some mistake in the Index, and a Sherborne document will be found not far off. This, it will be seen, is a hundred and fifty years after Ealdred's death.

(4). This document is one of Ecgberht, dated September 26. 833. in Cod. Dipl. i. 300. It relates to three sisters, Beornwyn, Alfled, Uualen-burch, in the name of which last there seems to be a savour of the Briton. Of these we read, "Contigit post annorum curriculum ut easdem praenominatae sorores plus de paterna hæreditate suscipientes, Bearnuiue recessit in Domnoniam, et ibi partem suum sumpsit in loco qui vocatur Derentune homm."

(5). "The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter," printed in the Archæological Journal. no. 119. p. 211.

(6). See History of the Norman Conquest, i. 308.

(7). Ib. iv. 582.

(8). This is Mr. Kerslake's comparison, p. 224.

(9). See History of the Norman Conquest, vol. ii. Appendix M. and Comparative Politics. p. 114.

(10). See the note just quoted. p. 589.

(11). We get both these expressive words in the Chronicles. In 1070, in the Winchester Chronicle, we read how Lanfranc was consecrated "on his agenum biscopsetle," and of Odo in Peterborough, 1087, "on Baius was his biscopstol."

(12). Bæda iii. 7. "Sed Britanniam perveniens ac primum Gevis-sorum gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inveniret, utilius esse ratupesti ibi potius verbum prædicare, quam ultra progrediens eos, quibus prædicare deberet inquirere." So in the Chronicles 634, "Her Birinus bodade ærest Weast Seaxum fulluht;" to which Peterborough adds, "Se Birinus com þider be Honorius wordum þes papan, and he ȝær wes bispop oþ his lyfes ende."

(13). See the *Historia Pontificalis* (Pertz xx, 542) a work which Professor Stubbs attributes to John of Salisbury. Here Henry of Blois asks of Pope Innocent, "ut ei pallium daretur et fieret archiepiscopus occidentalis Angliæ, vel ut ei legatio regni concederetur, vel saltem ut ecclesia sua eximeretur a jurisdictione Cantuariensis." All the answer he gets is a parable about "diabolus et mater sua." The *Winchester Annals* (1143) tell the story in a somewhat different shape. "Ipse exegit apud papam quod de episcopatu Wintoniensi archiepiscopatum faceret, et de abbatia de Hida episcopatum, et quod episcopatum Cices- triæ sibi subjiceret; et hoc fecit propter crebram decentationem quae fuit inter episcopum et archiepiscopum Cantuariae. Iste enim major videri voluit quam archiepiscopus, ille quam legatus."

(14). See Bæda, u. s. and the *Chronicles*, 635, 636, 639. The Northumbrian Bretwalda Oswald was present as Cynegil's godfather, and Bæda says of the placing of the bishopstool at Dorchester, "Donaverunt autem ambo reges eidem episcopo civitatem quæ vocatur Dorcic [in Ælfred's English version, "Da sealdon hi and geafon ȝam biskepe begen ȝa cyningas eardung stowe and bispop setl on Dorceceastre."] ad facien- dum inibi sedem episcopalem." If the joint action of Oswald was anything more than a piece of complimentary deference on the part of Cynegil, it must have been in his character of Bretwalda that he acted. Dorchester was not at this time Mercian, nor was Oswald local King of the Mercians.

(15). This story is told by Bæda in the same chapter, "Dividens in duas parochias provinciam, huic [Vini] in civitate Venta, quæ a gente Saxonum Vintancaestir appellatur, sedem episcopalem tribuit [he ȝa todælde on twa bispop scire West Seaxona maegþe and ȝam Wine gesealde bispops setl on Wintanceastre]. According to Bæda's account, the quarrel of Cenwealh with Agilberht was a protest of Low-Dutch against High. "Rex, qui Saxonum tantum linguam noverat, pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ." The building of the church of Winchester by Cenwealh is assigned in different copies of the *Chronicle* to 641, 642, 643, 648 and his baptism to 644, 645, 646.

(16). So says Bishop Godwin in his catalogue; "So Wini, or Wina, was the first Bishop of Winchester, of whom some vainly suppose, the City to have taken his name."

(17). On Hædæ see Bæda iv. 12; v. 18; and on the unity of the West-Saxon diocese at this time see Haddan, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 127.

(18). This document, which must be taken for what it is worth, but which falls in with and explains much that we read elsewhere, will be found in *Anglia Sacra* i. 193; Haddan iii. 126. Theodore is there made to say, "nobis non congruit, ipso fratre nostro sanctissimo Hedda super- stite, qui ecclesiam Wentanam tam insigniter nobilitavit, autoritate summi pontificis Agathonis transferendo corpus beatissimi Birini Occiden- talium Saxonum apostoli a villa Dorkecestrensi, ubi reconditum erat, una cum sede in Wentanam civitatem, cuius etiam labore ac studio

apostolicoque mandato ex tunc primo confirmata est in ipsa civitate sedes episcopalis dignitatis, parochiam suam in aliquo laedere diminuendo." This comes from a Winchester writer, Thomas Rudborne, and it must be borne in mind that his tendency would naturally be to make out Winchester to have been the head of the West-Saxon diocese from the beginning. His testimony in favour of the see having been first at Dorchester and then at Winchester has therefore a certain value. But of course the value of this statement as direct evidence depends on the question whether the document from which Rudborne quoted is a real act of Theodore or not. William of Malmesbury too (Gest. Pont. 158.) distinctly asserts a translation of the see to Winchester; "Posterioribus annis confirmato episcopatu West-Saxonum in Wintonia, illuc a pontifice Hedda translatus patronus civitatis post Deum habetur."

(19). This well be found in Haddan iii. 267, 274. The words which concern us are "In præteriti anni synodo statutum est illis [West-Saxonibus] non communicandum, si non tuum judicium in ordinatione episcoporum implere festinarent, quod adhuc neglectum habentes non perficiebant."

(20). So at least says Faricius in his life of Ealdhelm, 368. Ed. Giles. Haddan iii. 275. "Cujus [Hedda] parochia præ circuitus sui magnitudine, quia ab uno gubernari non poterat, ecclesiasticorum patrum regnumque consilio divisa est in duas."

(21). Chronn. 704, "Her Æþelred Pending Myrcna cynning, onfeng munuchade." He appears in Bæda v. 19. as "Ædilred quondam rex, tunc autem abbas;" and his death at Bardeney is recorded in the Chronicles in the year 716.

(22). When Ealdhelm went to Rome, he consulted Æthelred as well as Ine. Gest. Pont. 363, "Communicato propterea cum rege West-Saxonum Ina et Æthelredo Merciorum consilio, quorum et gaudebat amicitia et eminebat munificentia; illisque a sententia non discedentibus, Romanum callem ingressus est." We hear more of his favour towards Malmesbury in pp. 374, 388.

(23). Gest. Pont. 374, "Nec fastus regius Inam et Ethelredum, illum West-Saxonum, hunc Merciorum principem, ab hac exceptit lætitia: quippe ubi antiquo viri amori recens acreverat apostolicarum salutatum reverentia."

(24). Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, iii. 276.

(25). See Norman Conquest, vol. iv. p. 418.

(26). Gest. Pont. 175, "In divisione Westsaxonici episcopatus hoc observatum palam est, ut, qui Wintoniae sederet haberet duos pagos, Hamptunensem et Sudreiensem, alter, qui Scireburniae, haberet Wiltunensem, Dorsatensem, Berruchensem, Sumersetensem, Domnoniensem, Cornubiensem."

(27). Gest. Pont. 375. Iniqua et impar fuit ea divisio, ut unus duos tantum pagos, alter totum regeret, quicquid West-Saxonici tractus immensitas continet."

(28). So Mr. Haddan (Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents 1. 675).

understands the well known words of Asser, “Dedit mihi Exanceastrum cum omni parochia quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia.”

(29). The profession is given in Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, 1. 674.

(30). The entry, as given in the Abingdon Chronicle, 709—it is much the same in the others—runs thus; “Her Ealdhelm forðferde, se wæs be Westanwuda bisceop . . . and wæs todæld on forewardum Danieles dagum on twa bisceopscira Westsexnaland, and ær hit wæs I. oðer heold Daniel, oðer heold Ealdhelm.”

(31). “Se wæs be westan Selwuda bisceop.” This is in a Canterbury Chronicle. In Kent Selwood would doubtless not be *the* wood.

(32). Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 724. B. “Ine vicesimo anno regni sui divisit episcopatum Westsexiae in duo, qui unus esse solebat; partem orientalem a silvis tenuit Daniel, occidentalem Aldelmus.” We may however be allowed to doubt whether the Archdeacon of Huntingdon attached any very clear notion to the words “a silvis.” Florence (705) merely mentions the division, without giving the boundaries of the dioceses. Geoffrey Gaimar, as might be expected, does not trouble himself with the geography, but he pledges himself to the patriotic motives of Ine and also to the personal beauty of Ealdhelm, who, according to William of Malmesbury also, was a man of great stature;

“Un an apres cil de Westsex  
Del bon Ealdelm unȝ feit evesque ;  
Dous eveskez firent donc de une,  
Tut par l’egard de la commune.  
L’un eveske tint Daniel ;  
L’ autre out Ealdelf, ki mult fu bel.”

1573—1578. M. H. B. 783.

In the charter in William of Malmesbury Gest. Pont. 379, 380, Ealdhelm calls Daniel “reverentissimus frater et coepiscopus meus.”

(33). Ethelwerdi Ch̄on. II. 11. (M. H. B. 507 a.); “Obiit Aldelmus beatus episcopus, cuius miro artificio edita opuscula leguntur, eratque ejus episcopatus provincia quae vulgo Sealudscire dicitur.” It is curious that Æthelweard puts this under the head “de actibus Æthelredi Regis Merciorum,” not under the next head “de regime Ine, et de actibus ejus.”

(34). See pp. 19. 20. of Mr. Jones’ Tract.

(35). Gest. Pont. 175, “Scireburnia est viculus, nec habitantium frequentia nec positionis gratia suavis, in quo mirandum et pene pudendum sedem episcopalem per tot durasse saecula. Nunc de præsulatu in abbatiam mutatus, commercio nostra ætate non insneto, qua omnia factio atque libidine depravata, virtus ludibrio et probro habetur.”

(36). Hist. Eccl. v. 18, 23.

(37). See the Chronicles under 721.

(38). See the Worcester Chronicle under 731.

(39). All the Chronicles notice the resignation of Daniel, and those of Worcester and Peterborough add, “And steorran foran swyðe scotienda.”

(40). *Bæda v. 18.* puts Daniel and Ealdhelm together as “ambo et in rebus ecclesiasticis, et in scientia scripturarum, sufficienter instructi.” And in his Prologue he mentions further that he learned much about the history of his diocese from Daniel himself. “Dauihel, reverentissimus Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus, qui nunc usque superest, nonnulla mihi de historia ecclesiastica provinciæ ipsius, simul et proxima illi Australium Saxonum, nec non et Vectæ insulæ, literis mandata declaravit.”

(41). The life of Ealdhelm by Faricius is printed at the end of Dr. Giles' edition of the works of Ealdhelm.

(42.) See the story in Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* p. 109 ed. Selden, and in the *History of Abingdon*, ii. 287.

(43). *Gest. Pont.* 331. “Fuit sicut non usquequaque despicabilis eloquentiae, ita in his duntaxat, propter ignorantiam linguae, incuriosæ scientiæ, utpote sub Tusco natus aere.” Of the “ignorantia linguae” William gives a specimen. Faricius (pp. 356, 357.) had made a wonderful interpretation of the name Ealdhelm. “Ald enim, ut aiunt barbarice, Latine senex interpretatur; inde Aldelmus quasi senex almus. Vere enim, etsi juvenis corpore, animo senili vivebat et laudabili opere.” On this William (332) comments “Faricius allusit ad nomen, ut diceretur Aldelmus, quasi senex almus. Sed ego, si ludis insertis occupationes legentis furari liceret, dicerem, longe aliter interpretatione detorta, quod Aldhelmus interpretatur galea vetus. Sic enim debere scribi nomen suum, H littera interposita, ipse sanctus in prologo ænigmatum suorum perspicue innuit; et in epistola ad Withfridum aperte se priscam protectionis galeam dicit.”

(44). See my former paper on *Ine*, page 14.

(45). The genealogy of the Kings of Kent will be found drawn up at the end of the first volume of the English translation of Lappenberg. The chief authority is the *Genealogia Regum Cantwariorum* of Florence, i. 248 of Mr. Thorpe's edition. Florence distinctly makes two Eormenburhs, and bears witness to the sanctity of the whole house. Thus in the Kentish Genealogy (i. 259) we read “Eormenredo regina sua Oslava quatuor filias et duos peperit filios, sanctam videlicet Eormenbeorgam, quae fuit regina Merewaldi regis West-Anglorum; sanctam Eormenburgam, sanctam Ætheldrytham, sanctam Eormengitham, et sanctos martyres Æthelredum ac Æthelberhtum.” One sister of Eormenburgh was married to Ecgberht King of the Northumbrians, according to the Northumbrian writer followed by Simeon of Durham (i. 6 of the Surtees Society's edition). “Fuerat eis ex paterno maternoque soror procreata semine, Eormenburga vel Domueva nomine.” And we hear again of Merewald and Eormenburgh in William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg.* i. 74, 76. ii. 215.

(46). The portrait of Kenten and his nameless wife, are drawn by Faricius. p. 356.

(47). *Gest. Pont.* 378. “Novi ergo compos honoris provinciam regressus, cum in omnibus nomen æquaret officio, tum vel maxime

libertati monasteriorum studere, habuitque sedem Scireburniæ, ubi et ecclesiam, quam ego, quoque vidi, mirifice construxit."

(48). *Gest. Pont.* 346. "Necnon et apud Bradeford tertium ab eo monasterium instructum crebra serit opinio; quam confirmare videtur nomen villaæ in serie privilegii, quod jam episcopus monasteriis suis dedit appositorum, et antiquis scripturae liniamentis effigiatum. Et est ad hunc diem eo loci ecclesiola, quam ad nomen beatissimi Laurentii fecisse predicatorum." The charter to which he refers here is given in pp. 379, 380.

(49). On the well known passage of William of Malmesbury about the change of time under Eadward the Confessor, see *Norman Conquest*, ii. 504. This is the change from primitive Romanesque to Norman. The change brought in by Roger Bishop of Salisbury, the change from the earlier Norman to the later, is marked by him in the *Gesta Regum*, v. 408. He speaks of Roger's great undertakings, especially his buildings, and adds "Quod cum alias, tum maxime in Salesbiria et Malmesbiria est videre. Fecit enim ibi aedificia spatio diffusa, numero pecuniarum sumptuosa, specie formosissima; ita juste composito ordine lapidum, ut junctura perstringat intuitum, et totam maceriam unum mentiatur esse saxum." This has been taken to refer to the fine-jointed masonry brought in by Roger. William goes on to record the building of the church of (Old) Salisbury by Roger. He does not distinctly say that Roger built the church of Malmesbury; but I rather think that he wished to imply it without saying it. Roger was unpopular at Malmesbury, and with good reason, for building his castle within the monastic precinct. William was therefore not specially inclined to dwell even on his good works there. Yet his works must refer to a church, and not to the castle; for he couples the building at Malmesbury with the church at Salisbury, whereas, if he were speaking of castles, he could hardly have failed to couple the castle at Malmesbury with the more famous castles at Sherborne and the Devizes.

(50). William of Malmesbury, in his *Life of Saint Ealdhelm*, traces out the history of several churches belonging to the abbey of Malmesbury from its first foundation to his own time. A church had been standing within his own memory, or shortly before, which professed to be the first church of Meidulf, but about this he seems in doubt. (*Gest. Pont.* 345.) "Parva ibi admodum basilica paucis ante hoc tempus annis visebatur, quam Meildulfum aedificasse antiquitas incertum si fabulabatur." Ealdhelm built a larger church in honour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. "Fertur fecisse et augustiorem ecclesiam in honorum Domini Salvatoris, et primorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli." In strictness "fertur" ought to refer to Meildulf; but the context shows that Ealdhelm is meant, and the reading of another manuscript distinctly refers it to Ealdhelm. This church of Saint Peter was, down to Eadgar's time (*Gest. Pont.* 386. 407), held to be the head church of the monastery, but at that time that honour was transferred to the church of Saint Mary. This church, as well as one in honour of Saint Michael, were both built by Ealdhelm. Of Saint Michael's, when he wrote, it would seem that no traces were left, but that such traces had been seen during his own time (*Gest.*

Pont. 361.) "Fecit ergo ecclesiam eidemque alteram contiguam in honore Sancti Michahelis, cuius nos vestigia vidimus." But of Saint Mary's, which from the days of Eadgar onward was the head church, he speaks in quite another way. He had himself seen it in perfection : "Nam tota majoris ecclesiae fabrica celebris et illibata nostro quoque perstittit ævo, vinecens decore et magnitudine quicquid usquam ecclesiarum antiquitus factum visebatur in Anglia." But it was no longer standing, at all events it was no longer perfect, when he wrote. That is to say, it was, when he wrote, in the process of giving way to the church of which a part is still standing. The nave, in which, though the detail is purely Romanesque, the pier arches are slightly pointed, must, I think, be somewhat later than William's time. The eastern part is no longer standing, except what is left of the arches of the tower. We may therefore safely infer that, when William wrote, the eastern part of the new church was already built, but that part of Ealdhelm's church was still standing on the site of the present nave. In this last we may doubtless see a carrying out of Roger's design for the eastern part, modified by the use of the pointed arch.

(51). Gest. Pont. 362. "Ad hoc ergo templum exquisitus ædificandum post lapideum tabulatum sine ulla parsimonia sumptuum aggerebatur copia lignorum." He goes on to tell the story of the miraculous beam.

(52). I do not mean that there is any special or immediate likeness between Bradford and Romainmoutier. Romainmoutier has more likeness to other examples of Primitive Romanesque in England, those namely where the vertical and horizontal strips are a prominent feature. These last are among those features of the Primitive Romanesque style which were continued in the German Romanesque to the end of the twelfth century. I quote Romainmoutier simply as the great example of a church of this date still surviving.

(53). Chronicon Laureshamense, Pertz xxi. 423 "In brevi tum ex oblatis impendiis, tum ex incendii reliquis eadem restaurata est ecclesia, et si non ea qua olim mira venustatis elegantia, tamen prout facultas subpetebat et temporis indulxit festinantia."

(54). Gest. Pont. 378. "Habuit sedem Scireburniæ, ubi et ecclesiam, quam ego quoque vidi, mirifice construxit."

(55). Will. Malms. Hist. Nov. ii. 32. "Scireburnensem prioratum, qui proprius est episcopi Salesbiriensis, in abbatiam mutavit ; abbatia de Hortuna proinde destructa et adjecta." He gives no date ; that of 1122 comes from a MS. quoted in the Monasticon i. 333.

(56). Gest. Pont. 346. "Fecit et aliud cœnobium juxta fluvium qui vocatur From, sicut in privilegio quod Sergius papa utrisque monasteriis contulit, legitur. Stat ibi adhuc, et vicit diuturnitate sua tot sœcula ecclesia ab eo in honorem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ constructa."

(57). Gest. Pont. 363. "Ejus domus maceriarœ adhuc superstites, cœlo patuli tecto vacant ; nisi quod quiddam super altare prominet, quod a fœditate volucrum sacratum lapidem tueatur." He goes on to tell the legend of the rain never falling, and how all attempts to roof in the ruins had failed.

(58). *Gest. Pont.* 373, 374. The altar, about which several marvels are told, is described as “*ex splendenti marmore candido colore, sesquipedali grossitudine, quadrupedali longitudine, latitudine trium palmarum, labo ex eodem lapide prominenti, in circuitu pulcre decussatum.*”

(59). *Gest. Pont.* 374. “*Est ibidem et alia major ecclesia in Sancti Petri nomine, quam a beato viro factam et consecratam non negligenter asseverat opinio. Hujus orientalem frontem nuper in majus porrexit recentis aedificationis ambitio.*”

(60). *Gest. Pont.* 354. “*Animi regalis dotes animabat stimulis monitionum pater Aldelmus, cuius ille praecepta audiebat humiliter, suspiciebat granditer, adimplebat efficaciter.*”

(61). This appears from the story of Hermann Bishop of Ramsbury trying to annex the abbey of Malmesbury to his bishoprick. See *Norman Conquest*, ii. 402.

(62). See *Norman Conquest*, ii. 81—84.

(63). See *Norman Conquest*, i. 294.

(64). In *Domesday* 77, under the estates of the Bishop of Salisbury belonging to Sherborne, nine lordships are marked off “*Haec novem descripta maneria sunt de victu monachorum Scireburnensium.*” The monks have also lands in Sherborne itself, where they are described as “*monachi episcopi.*” Compare the words of William of Malmesbury in note 55.

(65). In *Domesday* 89. b. the estates of the canons of Wells came under the head of the lands of the bishoprick, with the introduction, “*Canonici S. Andreæ tenent de episcopo.*”

(66). In *Domesday* 77. it is said of land at Staplebridge “*de eadem etiam terra tenet Manasses iii virgatas quas W. filius regis tulit ab ecclesia sine consensu episcopi et monachorum.*”

(67). See *Monasticon* i. 334.

(68). *Gest. Pont.* 354. *Ejus [Aldhelmi] monitu . . . . nee parvi pretii rura Melduno intulit [Ina].*” Then follows the charter which is given in *Cod. Dipl.* i. 55, and which Mr. Kemble does not mark as spurious.

(69). This very remarkable story, bearing date in 903, is told in a Charter in *Cod. Dipl.* v. 154. A certain Ealderman *Æthelfrith* loses his title-deeds by fire (“*contigit quod Æðelfrido duci omnes hæreditarii libri ignis vastatione combusti perierant.*”) He then asks King Eadward, the Ealdorman *Æthelred*, the Lady *Æthelfæd* and all the Witan of Mercia, that he may have new writings made, a request which is granted without dispute

“*Tali igitur necessitate cogente, praedictus dux rogavit Eadweardum regem, Æðelredum quoque et Æðelfledam, qui tunc principatum et potestatem gentis Mercie sub prædicto rege tenuerunt, omnes etiam senatores Merciorum, ut ei consentirent et licentiam darent alios libros rescribendi. Tunc illi unanimiter omnes devota mente consenserunt ut alii ei libri rescriberentur, eodem modo quo et priores scripti erant, in quantum eos memoriter recordari potuisset.*”

The decree then goes on to provide for the chance of the new copies not being accurate, and for the chance of the old ones turning up again in the hands of any fraudulent possessor. Nothing of this kind is to

affect the *bona fide* right of *Æthelfrith*. In short, even if the new writings were in themselves spurious, they were made genuine by Act of Parliament.

“Si vero quoslibet recordari minime potuisset, tunc ei ista kartula in auxilio et adfirmatione fieret, ut nullus eum contentiose cum aliis libris affligere valuisset, nec propinquus nec alienus, quamvis aliquis homo aliquem de vetustis libris protulerit quem prius fraudulenter, in hora ipsius incendii vel alio quolibet tempore, per furtum abstraxisset.”

(70). This amazing story will be found in William of Malmesbury de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae (p. 295. Gale). The English words take these forms “Escebtiorne,” “Sugewege,” “Ealdcyrkenes epple” and “Ealdecyr[e] suge,” though one cannot exactly follow the logic of the statement that, “sus ealdecyre suge idcireo nominabatur, quæ cum cæteræ sues quatuor pedes habeant, mirum dictu, illa habuit octo.”

(71). All these tales will be found in William of Malmesbury's Glastonbury work. Whether any kernel of truth is to be found in any of the legends, hardly concerns us here.

(72). The pig-story is told in some manuscripts of William of Malmesbury, Gest. Reg. I. 35. I have told the story in Old-English History p. 71.

(73). See the Salisbury Volume of the Institute 58, 59. Dr. Guest also, in the Archæological Journal, xvi, 129, refers to Gwrgan Varvtrwch as “the king of Domnonia, who is represented by Malmesbury as the founder of Glastonbury Abbey” in 601. The words of William of Malmesbury (Gale 308) are “Rex Domnoniæ terram, quæ appellatur Yneswitrin, ad ecclesiam vetustam concessit, quæ ibi sita est, ob petitionem Worgret abbatis.” This hardly amounts to a foundation, but it certainly looks like a great advance in the temporal position of the “old church.”

(74). I made this comparison from the other side when at Exeter in 1873.

(75). The alleged charter of Cenwealh which is referred to by William of Malmesbury (Gale 308) is given in Cod. Dipl. i. 10. There is also the Charter of Baldred, referred to in the same page and, printed in Cod. Dipl. i. 25, which Mr. Kemble also rejects.

(76). This genuine charter of Ine is given in Cod. Dipl. i. 83. Mr. Kemble there accounts for the manifest mistake in the date.

(77). See Cod. Dipl. i. 24.

(78). The architectural history of the present buildings of Glastonbury should of course be studied in the work of Professor Willis. The point to which I now specially refer is that, after all, the two churches were only connected outside; the approach from one to the other was not by an arch, but by the ordinary west-door of the minster. The arrangement became practically the same as that at Sherborne, after the parish church of All-Hallows was built up against the west-front of the minster. The Gallilee at Durham is another case; only in these two latter cases it was a later building which was built up against the principal church, while at Glastonbury it was an older church which was connected with the newer by an intermediate building later than either.

(79). Ant. Glast. Eccl. 310. “Fundavit Ina majorem ecclesiam de Apostolis Petro et Paulo.” He then counts up the earlier churches real or legendary, and adds “Quartam et majorem construxit Ina rex, in honore Domini Salvatoris, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in orientali parte aliarum, pro anima fratris sui Mules, quem Cantuarii infra Cantuariam incenderant.” Then follows a string of hexameters, which he says were written by Ine’s order. He also, in Gest. Pont. 354, makes Ine renew the monastery of Glastonbury by the suggestion of Ealdhelm, “ejus monitu Glastoniense monasterium, ut dixi in Gestis Regum, a novo fecit.” The reference to Gesta Regum is to i. 35; where we read—“in dictio sunt monasteria regiis sumptibus nobiliter excitata, praecipue Glastingense, in quo beati martyris Indracti et sociorum ejus corpora, de loco martyrii translata, jussit inferri.” And presently “hic etiam beatorum apostolorum ecclesiam, huic vetustae, de qua loquimur, appendicem, a fundamentis aedificavit, et magnis possessionibus ditavit.” Then follows the “magnum privilegium” which is rejected as spurious by Mr. Kemble Cod. Dipl. i. 85.

(80). See Norman Conquest, iv. 384.

(81). I spoke of this legend in my former paper p. 17.

(82). See Norman Conquest, ii. p. 674.

(83). Ecclesiastical Documents, p. 30.

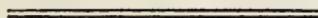
(84). See the list in Florence i. 236. ed. Thorpe.

(85). Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 16.

(85). This charter is in Cod. Dipl. i. 141. He simply says “Dei apostolo atque ministro, sancto Andreae, humiliter ascribendo donabo.” And presently his gifts are said to be made “ad augmentum monasterii quod situm est juxta fontem magnum quem vocant Uvielea, ut eo diligentius in ecclesia sancti Andreæ apostoli Deo soli deserviant.” Let no one misapply the word “monasterium,” to support the strange belief that there once were monks at Wells. The word “monasterium” or minister is constantly applied to a secular church. See Norman Conquest, i. 424., ii. 671.

(87). See page, 57.

(88). The other reference to Ine in the Abingdon History are at i. 9, where we are told that Ine “primo donationes et beneficia predecessorum suorum Cissae et Ceduuallæ necnon maximam portionum hereditatis Heani abbatis praecipue erga monasterium Abbendoniae, primo irrita fieri decrevit; sed postmodum . . . . . de suis maneriis et licitis donationibus ipsius domus beneficia auxit uberioris.” Then comes that strange and incoherent charter which is rejected by Mr. Kemble Cod. Dipl. i. 53. The other reference to Ine is in i. 120, where we read of the times “Cissæ et Ceduuallæ, insuper et Hinæ, regum West-Saxonum, per quorum patrocinia ipsum cœnobium primo fuit erectum et constructum.”



# The Birthplace of Winfrith, or Saint Boniface,

AS BEARING ON THE SAXON CONQUEST  
OF DEVONSHIRE.

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BY RICHARD JOHN KING.

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THE birthplace of the Saxon Winfrith, better known as Saint Boniface, the “Apostle of Germany” as he is generally called—the greatest churchman of his age, not only in northern Europe but perhaps in all Christendom,—has been fixed by all writers, from Camden downwards, at Crediton in Devonshire. It is only of late years, since Dr. Guest and Mr. E. A. Freeman have investigated with so much zeal and success the various evidences, in written chronicles, in the geography and natural defences of the country, and in existing remains of dykes and entrenchments, bearing on the gradual conquest of western Britain by the English, that any doubt has been thrown on this general belief; and that it has been suggested that the birth of St. Boniface in the last quarter of the seventh century, at what is now Crediton, presupposing an important English settlement there, is inconsistent with what is known of the limits of the English kingdom of Wessex at that period, and with the relations between that kingdom and Domnonia, the West Wales of the English Chroniclers, then embracing, it is asserted, the whole of the present Devonshire and Cornwall, and a great part of

Somersetshire. The question in dispute thus assumes an especial interest. It is not only that we in Devonshire are unwilling to resign the right to claim Saint Boniface as one of our greatest worthies ; but if it can be shown that all the accessible evidence tends to confirm the received belief, and that it cannot be set aside without assumptions for which there is no reasonable warrant, we shall be compelled to modify the conclusions at which Dr. Guest and others had arrived, and to admit that, long before the end of the seventh century, English colonists had pushed themselves far into Domnonia, either from the west, or from the southern sea-board. We may still allow that, on the north, there had been little, if any, advance of the English into Devonshire when in 710, Ine and Nunna fought with and overthrew Gerent, King of West Wales,<sup>1</sup> the “gloriosissimus Dominus Domnoniæ” to whom, five years before, Ealdhelm, then Abbot of Malmesbury, had addressed his well-known letter respecting the due observance of Easter.

The principal authority for the life of Saint Boniface is the work of Willibald, a priest of the church of St. Victor at Maintz, who, some thirteen years after the martyrdom of the saint at Docum in Friezeland, wrote his life at the request of Lullus and Megingoz, the former Archbishop of Maintz, in which see he succeeded Saint Boniface, the latter Bishop of Wirtzburg. Both had been companions of Boniface through much of his labours, and were his faithful disciples. It does not appear that Willibald had at any time received information about his life from Saint Boniface himself ; but he was assisted by many persons who had been constantly with the martyred Archbishop, and especially by Bishop Lull or Lullus. Willibald's life

(1). “And Ine and Nun his mæg gefuhton wið Gerente Weala cyninge.” Sax. Chron. ad. ann.

therefore has all but the value of a contemporary history. There exist, beside, a great number of letters written by Boniface, and many addressed to him by different persons from different countries. Some of these are from friends in England, chiefly members of religious houses. From them we gather one or two particulars about the family of Boniface ; but for his early life we have to rely entirely on Willibald ; for although, at a later period, longer lives of the saint were written, they are little more than amplifications of the first, and are of course without its contemporary authority.

Willibald, without naming the birthplace of Boniface, tells us that, when a boy of four or five years old, he was impressed by a visit to his father's house of certain priests or clerks, who were wandering as missionaries throughout the country.<sup>2</sup> His father, a great householder, and of "earl-kind" or noble birth, loved his son Wynfrith above his other children ; and was greatly disturbed when the boy, still of very tender years, declared his resolution to embrace the monastic life. For a long time the father would not consent ; but at last, in the crisis of a great sickness, when death seemed close at hand, he yielded, and Wynfrith, with the good will of his relations (*propinquorum facta conventione*) was<sup>3</sup> sent to a monastery at a place called

(2). "Cum vero aliqui—sicut illis regionibus moris est—presbiteri sive clerici populares vel laicos prædicandi causa adissent, et ad villam domumque præfati patris familias venissent," &c. Willibaldi Vita S. Bon. cap. 1. These wandering clerks may have come from Exeter.

(3). "Puerum, propinquorum facta conventione, ad monasterium, quod prisorum nuncupatur vocabulo Adescancastre, spontaneus, a Domino quidem correptus, direxit, et fideli viro Wulphardo, qui et abbas illius extitit monasterii, per fideles sua legationis nuntios redditum commendavit." Vita, cap. 1. May not "prisci" here signify the Britons ? If so, it would seem that the description and name of the monastery must have been supplied by some one (perhaps by Wynfrith himself to Lullus) well acquainted with the condition of the district.

“Adescancastre,” and commended to the Abbot, whose name was Wulhard. After remaining for some time in this religious house he passed to another named “Nhutscelle”—whence in due season he crossed the sea,—to become the Christian missionary of Friezeland and of all central Germany, to found the archiepiscopal see of Maintz on the Rhine, and the great monastery of Fulda in the midst of the Thuringian beech woods, to confirm the most important dynastic change which Christendom had hitherto witnessed, by placing the crown on the head of Pepin the Short, and thus transferring, with the sanction of the Church, the royal authority from the house of the Merwings to that of the Karlings; and finally, to die in the wild marsh country of Friezeland, struck down by the swords of a ferocious heathen host, whose old supremacy had been endangered by his successes. With the life of Saint Boniface beyond sea, however, we are not at present concerned. The one clue to his birthplace which is afforded by Willibald is the name of the monastery to which he was first sent—Adescancastre,—which, in spite of some variety of spelling in the manuscripts, Mabillon, Pertz, Jaffé,—all, in short, who have edited, or been concerned with the life and letters of Saint Boniface, have agreed to regard as meaning Exeter,—the “Exanceastræ” of the English Chronicles. Although this name is somewhat differently given in different manuscripts,—as “Adescancastre,” “Ad Escan Castre,” “Adestcancastre,” and “Adestancastre,”<sup>4</sup> the variation is not very great; and, but for the assumption that Exeter was at this time still the Romano-British Isca, and that no Saxons had as yet penetrated so far into Devonshire, there would be no

(4). The “ad” represents the Saxon “æt,” which was frequently used, as in “Ættæfingstoc”=Tavistock.

question as to the site of the monastery in which Wynfrith was first received. Escancastre can only be Exeter. There is no other “ceastre” or “chester” in the western parts of the country certainly within the limits of Wessex in the latter half of the seventh century, which can possibly be meant. “Akemansceastre” or Bath has been suggested; but this is a guess in no way supported by the manuscripts.

When Wynfrith, who seems already to have received the name of Bonifacius, left his second English monastery, Nhutscelle—which is held to have been Nutshalling or Nursling in Hampshire,—for his labours beyond the sea, he took with him commendatory letters to the princes and bishops through whose territories he might pass, from Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, whose diocese had been conterminous with the kingdom of Wessex, until in the year 705 Ine divided the bishopric into two sees,—Daniel remaining at Winchester, and having as his diocese the whole of Wessex “east of the woods,”—that is of Selwood, while the place of the second see was fixed at Sherborne, and Ealdhelm became bishop of all Wessex west of Sherwood. Nursling was thus in the diocese of Winchester; and letters were exchanged between Daniel and Boniface from the final departure of the latter in 718, to the death of the former in 745. A correspondence was maintained between Lullus, the successor of Boniface in the see of Maintz, and the English Church throughout the island. Kynehard, Bishop of Winchester, writes to Lullus at some time before the year 766, asking for books, and for a continuation of the good offices which had passed between Daniel and Boniface; and about 786, Cynewulf, King of Wessex, with his bishops and nobles (the letter was no doubt despatched after a *witena-gemote*), writes to Lullus to renew an engagement for mutual prayer made

with his predecessor Boniface.<sup>5</sup> This was thirty years after the death of Boniface ; and more than half that time had passed since Willibald had completed his life of the martyr. I mention this in order to show that with this chain of intercourse between Wessex and its chief episcopal see, and Archbishop Lullus, who had directed the writing of the life by Willibald, there is a certainty that that life had, as soon as it was written, found its way to England ; and that, had it contained any serious error, it would have been corrected either by surviving relatives of Wynfrith, or by the ecclesiastics of Winchester. But the life was accepted as we now have it ; and with the life, the name of Wynfrith's first monastery, "Adescancastre." Had this been wrong we should surely have found some indication of a correction, either in the later lives, or in some decided variation in the manuscripts. But, as we have seen, the difference of spelling is so slight that there is no room for doubt, either that the same place is always meant, or that that place is Exeter.

Willibald gives no name to the place where Wynfrith was born, and refers to it only as "villa domusque patris sui." Nor does he tell us how far it was from the monastery at Adescancastre, to which, it would seem, the boy was sent while his father was still on his sick bed. There is no reference to his birthplace—nothing indeed which at all helps us toward finding even the district in which it was placed—in any of the numerous letters written by Boniface to different persons in Wessex. A certain Leobgitha who writes to him, tells him that her father Tinne—"cujus vocabulum est Tinne in occiduis regionibus," who had been a friend of Boniface, is dead ;

(5). All these letters will be found in *Jaffé*, S. Bonif. Epist. ; and in *Haddan and Stubbs*, Councils and Eccles. Doc. vol. iii.

and that her mother Ebbe, who was his kinswoman, sought his prayers. Tradition makes Willibald bishop of Eichstadt (not the writer of the life), a nephew of St. Boniface—his father having been a certain Richard, called King of the West-Saxons, who married Winne, a sister of Wynfrith, and was himself recognized as a saint. But the name, Richard, which although Teutonic is not Saxon, makes all this story doubtful. Willibald's life tells us all that we know with any certainty about his family; and a local tradition of most ancient standing has fixed the “*villa domusque patris sui*” at Crediton. The earliest written record of this tradition is found in the Legendary compiled under the direction of Bishop Grandison, in 1336, for the use of Exeter Cathedral. This book, a finely-written manuscript in two thick folios, remains in the Chapter Library; and under the heading of Saint Boniface it is recorded that the future Archbishop was born of noble race—“*ex bonâ prosapiâ*,” in the country of the West-Saxons, “*apud Creditoniam in Devonia*.” Such a statement implies that the belief at that time was of very great antiquity, and had probably never been questioned. No other place has at any time, or in any way, laid claim to have been the birthplace of Wynfrith; and although Saint Boniface was commemorated throughout the English church, he was nowhere more honoured than in the cathedral of his own district, which preserved, it must be remembered, the most ancient traditions of the diocese, although the place of the see had not always been at Exeter. When the Devonshire see was first established, at Crediton, in or about the year 909—about 150 years after the death of Boniface—it may well have been that recollections of the saint led to the fixing of the see at his birthplace. At any rate we know that by that time

Crediton had become an important English settlement,—the “villa” of an over-lord, in the open country, where his own dwelling was surrounded by those of his followers and dependents.

Under ordinary circumstances, this evidence, although it is not of the first order—that is, it has not the weight of a direct contemporary statement—would be accepted as sufficient ; and no shadow of doubt would ever have been thrown on the claim of Crediton to represent the birthplace of Saint Boniface. But it must be remembered that it has been pronounced as a certainty that no English—no Saxons—had before the end of the seventh century broken through the borders of the present Devonshire, or established themselves within its limits. It is held—that is, it is expressly maintained by Dr. Guest, whose conclusions are accepted by Mr. Freeman, that Dyvnaint or Domnonia was as yet a great unbroken kingdom ; that its chiefs were powerful, perhaps quite as powerful as the English kings of Wessex who were pressing on their borders ; that its ancient Romano-Keltic traditions were maintained with vigour, and that it was in close communication with Armorica on one side, and with the Britons of what is now Wales on the other. If this view is strictly correct we must give up Saint Boniface as having been in any way connected with either Exeter or Crediton. But let us see what additional indications may be found, to induce us still to hold by the evidence supplied by Willibald’s life and the local tradition. We may admit at once that the question is one of great difficulty, and that we can but feel our way in the darkness. Nevertheless, there seems to be considerable reason for hesitating before we allow that the condition of Domnonia in the latter years of the seventh century, was precisely such as it has been painted by Dr. Guest.

If we recognize Exeter in the Adescancastre of Willibald, it follows not only that a Saxon colony was already, about the year 680, in possession of part of the city, but that some kind of monastic establishment was in existence in the region occupied by the colonists. The West-Saxons, it must be remembered, had received their first Christian teaching from the Frank, Birinus, who died Bishop of Dorchester in 650. Not more than 30 years therefore had elapsed from this date, when we are called on to suppose a Christian settlement, with a monastery, at Exeter. But it is clear that Christianity spread at once, and rapidly, throughout all those parts of Britain which were under West-Saxon rule, and all that is known of Ine, King of Wessex, the contemporary of Saint Boniface, besides all that is recorded of the early life of Boniface himself, shows that the conversion had been general, and the zeal of the converts untiring. The Saxons who penetrated into and conquered Domnonia, whenever that conquest took place, came not as heathen exterminators, sweeping the country free of its British inhabitants. This had been the case in the portions of Wessex first conquered by them, and in the rest of Britain. But by the time they entered what is now Devonshire they had themselves become Christians, and the older inhabitants, subdued and perhaps in thrall, were not exterminated. Thus, allowing that a Saxon colony had settled in Exeter so early as 680, there is nothing to surprise us at finding such a monastic establishment among them as that to which Wynfrith was sent, and over which Wolfhard presided. They would come as Christians, and as Christians with all the zeal of new converts ; and the first church raised by them in their quarter of the city would in all likelihood be connected with a small body of monks, as at Dorchester, or at Winchester,—

wherever in fact an ecclesiastical centre was established. And the Saxon conquest of Exeter, whenever and however it occurred, differed altogether from the conquest of such Romano-British cities as Bath, or Gloucester, or Winchester. The Britons, to all appearance, were never driven entirely from it ; and as late as the reign of *Æthelstan* (A.D. 926) they occupied the city “*æquo jure*” with the Saxons. *Æthelstan*, we are told, expelled them from Exeter, and set the Tamar as the boundary between the British sub-kingdom of Cornwall—the reduced Domnonia,—and the true Wessex. “The Lord of all Britain,” says Mr. Freeman, “the conqueror of Scot and Northman, the lawgiver of England, deemed it time . . . to place the supremacy of the conquering nation in the chief city of the western peninsula beyond all doubt. Hitherto we may be sure that the English burghers had formed a ruling class, a civic patriciate. Now, strengthened doubtless by fresh English colonists, they were to become the sole possessors of the city.”<sup>6</sup> The questions for us are, for how long a time this double occupation of Exeter had continued, and in what manner it had begun? We have heard the evidence of Willibald. Mr. Kerslake of Bristol, in a very interesting paper read at the Exeter meeting of the Archaeological Institute,<sup>7</sup> endeavoured to trace the limits of the British and Saxon quarters of the city under the guidance, partly of the ancient walls and streets, and partly of the dedications of the several churches. We gather from it, and with tolerable certainty, that the

(6). “The Place of Exeter in English History,” *Macmillan’s Magazine*, Sept. 1873. The paper was read by Mr. E. A. Freeman, at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute, in Exeter, in the autumn of 1873.

(7). “The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter.” This paper has been printed in the Journal of the Institute.

Saxons had established themselves on the south and east ; and that a portion of the city on the north, in which we find the churches of the British saints, Petrock and Kerrian, together with the country beyond it, marked not less significantly by the church of Saint David, was retained by the Britons. The indications are, without doubt, that the Saxon colonists had reached Exeter either from the south, by the river, or from the eastern border of the county. It would seem, also, judging from the recognition of the division, that the occupation of Exeter had been comparatively peaceful. The newly Christianized Saxons found Christians and Christian churches within the walls of Caer Isc,—the Romano-Keltic city which had never been altogether destroyed or abandoned, and which must still have displayed many a trace of Roman occupation and magnificence. Nor, on the other hand, would they have been unrecognized by the British Christians. The letter of Ealdhelm to Gerent, King of Domnonia, written in 705, implies that the Christians of “ West Wales,” differing as they did from the Saxons on the question of Easter, and on one or two minor points, were by no means so unwilling to join in communion with them as their Welsh brethren beyond the Severn.<sup>8</sup>

The separation of the British and Saxon quarters, pointed out by Mr. Kerslake, must have been long in

(8). This is implied not only by the whole tone of the letter, but by a passage in which Ealdhelm dwells strongly on the errors of the Welsh priests—(North Welsh as they would then be called, in distinction from those of “ West Wales.”) “ Illud vero quam valde a fide catholica discrepat . . . . ; quod ultra Sabrinae fluminis fretum Demetarum sacerdotes, de privata propria conversationis munditia gloriantes, nostram communionem magnopere abhominantur, in tantum, ut nec in ecclesia nobiscum orationum officia celebrare, nec ad mensam ciborum fercula pro caritatis gratia pariter percipere dignentur.” See the whole letter in *Haddan and Stubbs*, vol. iii.

existence when *Æthelstan* visited Exeter in 926. No date can be fixed for its beginning; but the legend of Saint Sativola, or Saint Sidwell, whose church outside the eastern gate of Exeter is said to mark the place of her beheading by a certain scytheman or mower—(*fæniseca*)—falls in with the belief that Willibald's *Adescancastre* is Exeter, and that Wynfrith was born at Crediton. Her legend asserts that she was a contemporary of Saint Boniface; that her father, *Benna*, was a Briton; and that, after his death, her step-mother, covetous of her fortune, caused her to be killed while at prayer near a fountain which afterwards bore her name. Sativola is said to have been the eldest of three sisters, *Juthwara*, *Wilgitha*, and *Eadwara*,—names which are Teutonic and not British, unless they have been disguised by later hagiologists.<sup>9</sup> Her own name seems to be Keltic; and one is half inclined to imagine that an inter-marriage between Saxon and Briton may not even at that time, have been impossible. Be that as it may, her legend distinctly asserts that she was a contemporary of Saint Boniface,—an additional, if faint, indication in support of the local tradition which makes Crediton his birthplace.

The distribution of Britons and Saxons in and round Exeter, implies, as we have seen, that the latter approached from the south or east,—perhaps from both quarters. There are other reasons for believing that Domnonia was attacked on its eastern side as well as by *Ine* on the north. There is, for example, a tradition that *Æthelstan* founded Axminster, the minster of the Axe, as the memorial of a great battle in which five kings and seven earls fell, and which raged from a point known as the hill of St.

(9). The legend of S. *Juthwara* is given by Capgrave. All the sisters were recognised as saints.

Calixtus—"munt Saint Calyxt"—to a place called Colecroft, close under Axminster. The tradition of this battle is recorded in the register of Newenham Abbey, a document of the age of Edward III.<sup>10</sup> We have here, no doubt, recollections of Brunanburgh, and of the famous poem preserved in the English Chronicle; indeed, it has been suggested that Axminster was really Brunanburgh, and the scene of that great fight. Such a notion no one would maintain at present; for wherever may have been the real site of Brunanburgh, we know that it was somewhere in Northumbria. But the tradition of a great battle does not get fixed anywhere without some reason; and this fight at Axminster may very well have been a real struggle between Britons and Saxons, with which, at a later period, some of the Brunanburgh details were confused. There is more than one instance of a minster having been founded by the conqueror on the field of his victory. The great Abbey of Battle, on the field of Senlac, at once presents itself as the most prominent example; and, in 1020, Knut built a "minster of lime and stone" on the field of Assandun, where he broke the force of Edmund Ironside. It is quite possible that the minster of the Axe may, as tradition asserted, have been the memorial of a great battle. That there was a church at Axminster in 784, we know from the record in the English Chronicles, under that, and the previous year 755, of the deaths of Cynewulf, King of Wessex, and of an *Ætheling*, named Cyneheard. The body of the King, it is said, was buried at Winchester; that of the *Ætheling*

(10). This register was among the MSS. of Sir Thomas Phillips. It contains two accounts of the battle, one in French, and another in Latin. The Cistercian Abbey of Newenham is within half a mile of Axminster.

at Axminster.<sup>11</sup> The bodies were conveyed from Merton in Surrey ; and there must have been some strong and especial reason for taking that of the *Ætheling* so far west. He or his family must have had some close interest in the minster which already existed at Axminster. Tradition attributed its foundation to *Æthelstan* ; but here is a proof that it had arisen long before his time ; and the confusion of the fight at Axminster with that at Brunanburgh, led also, in all probability, to the introduction of *Æthelstan's* name as that of the founder of the minster.

The northern march of what is now Devonshire may for a long period—up to, and after the fight in 710 of Ine and Nunna with the British King Gerent—have run very nearly along the line which now separates Devonshire from Somersetshire. There are indications, such as the Simon barrow on the Blackdown hills, and the Simons bath in Exmoor—places which I believe to be named from Sigmund the *Wæsing*, one of those Teutonic heroes under whose protection march lands were generally placed<sup>12</sup>—that this frontier was one of some permanence during the struggle between Saxon and Briton. But it was broken at last. Saxon colonists and conquerors poured down from the north ; and under *Æthelwulf*, father of *Ælfred the Great*, in the middle of the ninth century, the men of Devonshire, a mixed race it may be, had become West-Saxon subjects, and fought valiantly against the Danish invader. But if the evidence on which I have been dwelling is at all to be regarded, we must believe that long before the Saxons entered Devonshire from the

(11). “And se Cynewulf rixode xxxi geara. And his lic lið on Wintanceastre. and thæs aethelinges æt Axanmynster.” Chron. ad ann 755.

(12). See “The Folk Lore of Devonshire,” a paper by the present writer in *Frazer's Magazine* for December, 1873.

north, they had passed the Axe on the eastern border, and had made themselves masters of part of Exeter, and of portions of the surrounding country. It is impossible to say in what manner this may have been effected,—whether by single leaders with their followers, penetrating at different points into the country, or, as the Axminster battle may indicate, with the full force of the royal “host.” But I am much inclined to believe that a careful examination of the whole southern coast of Devonshire—and perhaps of the coast west of the Tamar—will afford indications that isolated Saxon settlements may have taken place along it at remote periods; and it may even be a question whether the great keep mounds of Totnes and of Plympton may not have been the work of these first Saxon settlers—who needed strongholds near the sea,—rather than of Britons or Brito-Romans.

To return for a moment to Crediton. The position of the present church, marking that of the most ancient settlement, is precisely such an one as an early Saxon colonist would have most affected. It stands on a knoll of higher ground, open and sunny, at the head of a long green meadow which opens to the vale of the Creedy, the little river from which “Cridiantun,” Crediton, the “town” or enclosure of the Creedy, is named. There is no reason to believe that any Roman or British occupants had preceded the Saxon on this site. At any rate, no remains of that earlier period have been discovered at Crediton. A line of road runs over the hills by Whitstone from Exeter to Crediton, and is perhaps more ancient, since it avoids the lower marsh-lands, than that which, also of considerable antiquity, follows the course of the Creedy upward from its junction with the Exe. These may represent British trackways passing towards the north

coast ; but, although there are ancient camps and earth-works along their course, if at some little distance from it, there is no evidence and no record that any such stronghold ever existed at Crediton. The Saxon colonists may have found their way to it along the hills from Exeter—an approach which, according to Mr. Kerslake's disposition of the city, would be directly open to them. However they came, they, to all appearance, found the site unoccupied, and clear for their own settlement. The church which served as the first cathedral of the Devonshire see, after the erection of that see about 909, occupied it may be, the site of the timbered house in which Wynfrith first saw the light. Leland found a tradition existing, to the effect that this Saxon church stood somewhat west of the existing building. No traces of foundations have been discovered ; but in the valley west of the present church are two water springs, one of which is protected by an arch of Early English character ; the other is known as Saint Winifred's well. It seems more than probable that this should really be Saint Wynfrith's well, and that we have here a direct memorial—it is the only one which can be traced at Crediton—of the great Apostle of Germany. Wynfrith, although he received the name of Bonifacius, either on making his full monastic profession, or at his ordination as priest, continued to subscribe himself, almost to the end of his life as “Wynfrith qui et Bonifacius.” In his own country he would be more likely to retain his English name.<sup>13</sup>

(13). The churches of Brancetcombe, on the coast between Seaton and Sidmouth, and of Manaton, on the border of Dartmoor, are dedicated to Wynfrid or Winifred. This is far more likely to be Wynfrith of Crediton than the Welsh saint, whose legend did not come into existence before the twelfth century.

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# A short Memoir of Bishops Aldhelme, and Athelme, or Adelme.

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BY THE REV. CANON MEADE.

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## ALDHELME, BISHOP OF SHERBORNE.

THERE is so much resemblance between some of the Saxon names, and yet the mode of spelling them varies so much, that it is not surprising if Aldhelme, the first Bishop of Sherborne, should be sometimes confounded with Athelme or Adelme, the first Bishop of Wells.

Brihtwald, the eighth Archbishop of Canterbury, rejoices in no less than twelve *aliases*, or different spellings of his name.<sup>1</sup>

It may be not inappropriate, therefore, to call to mind the points of difference between these ancient occupiers of the sees of Sherborne and of Wells.

Although desirous to do full justice to our first bishop (Athelme of Wells), a divine who seems to have been raised solely by his character for learning and piety to the

(1). Brectwaldus (Hoveden), Britwold (Huntingdon), Brithwoldus (Brompton), Brichtwaldus (Diceto), Berthwaldus (Simeon of Durham), Berechtwaldus and Bertwaldus (Bede), Bircwaldus (Malmesbury), Brihtwaldus (Flor. of Worcester), Berchtwald (Chron. Marl. and S. Cruc), Brithwaldus (Matth. Paris), and Bricwaldus (Birchington). See Richardson's note in Godwin, quoted by Hook.

highest stations in the Church, yet it must be acknowledged that the friend of Archbishop Theodore—of Hadrian the scholar and divine,—Aldhelme, the monk of Malmesbury, Sherborne's first bishop, takes a still higher rank among the learned and holy men of the age in which he lived. Aldhelme or Ealdhem was the nephew of the celebrated Ina, King of the West-Saxons, being the son of Kentred, Ina's brother. His early life was devoted to study ; and from his retreat at Malmesbury he mentions in letters to his learned friend Hadrian several of the subjects of study on which he there employed himself.<sup>2</sup> Such were “Latin versification, Roman jurisprudence, astronomy, astrology, and arithmetic”—the last he says that he found a “laborious science,” and well it might be, when all calculations had to be performed by the Roman numerals, the seven letters, C. D. M. I. V. X. L.<sup>3</sup>

The reputation of Ealdhelm for learning became so great that persons came from Scotland and France to study under his guidance. He was ordained by Eleutherius, Bishop of Winchester, between the years 670 and 675, and not long after his ordination we find him raised to the abbot's chair at Malmesbury.

In 689, having gone to Rome with King Ceadwella,<sup>4</sup> he obtained a grant from the Pope Sergius, exempting his abbey from episcopal jurisdiction, and from secular service, and conferring on the monks the privilege of electing their abbot. On the death of Hædda, Bishop of Winchester, in the year 705, that extensive diocese was divided,

(2). The account of Aldhelme's studies and learning at Malmesbury is given in Bede Hist. lib. 5, c. 18.

(3). Arabic numerals were not introduced into Europe till 1050, into England 1253.

(4). Who is said to have gone thither for baptism. He was the immediate predecessor of Ina.

Daniel became Bishop of Winchester, and Aldhelme, much (it is said) against his will, received the western portion of the diocese, with the title of Bishop of Sherborne. His diocese comprised the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall; and Bede tells us that for four years he administered the affairs of his see—("strenuâ diligentîâ")—“with unwearied diligence.” Indefatigable in preaching and giving instruction to the ignorant, he was liberal in employing his augmented means in building and endowing churches; his zeal was tempered by a charity in advance of his age; for, although he considered the Celtic churches of Wales and Cornwall as schismatical, he earnestly desired their reconciliation, and in his letter to Gerontius, Prince of Cornwall (King Gerunt),<sup>5</sup> he admits the orthodoxy with which they inculcated the doctrines of the gospel, and preached the mystery of our Lord's incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension.

Aldhelme seems plainly to have held the great principle that schismatics were to be convinced not by *force*, but by *reason*.

It will be recollected that at this period two subjects of controversy existed in the Christian Church, which excited the minds not only of prelates, but also of princes, viz., the proper period for the observance of the Easter festival, and the tonsure.

The Celtic bishops agreed on these points with the Eastern Churches, the Anglo-Saxon with the Latin. Theodore, the Archbishop of Canterbury at this time, was originally of Tarsus, the birthplace of St. Paul; but although at first a Greek churchman, he had conformed to the formularies of the Latin Church; and Hadrian, who

(5). As Hook calls him ! !

had been appointed by the Pope<sup>6</sup> to accompany the Archbishop to England, had also to conform both to the Latin mode of resolving the question of Easter, and also to the Roman method of tonsure. The oriental mode permitted the long hair to fall down behind, but shortened that on the front—and the Archbishop and his assessor were delayed some time in Rome, till the hair of one or both was long enough to be submitted to the scissors of orthodoxy.

In due time, “the flowing locks at the back of his head were abscinded, the licentious prolixity of the beard curtailed, and with the legitimate amplitude and circularity of crown, Hadrian started with Theodorus as ‘amicus curiæ’ for England.”<sup>7</sup> Some years after, there appears an order in the canons of Archbishop Richard, requiring this portion of the clerical toilet to devolve not on the *barber*, but on the *archdeacon*—a duty this for which, in the modern revival of ancient usages, it may be well that our present archdeacons should be prepared !

I would not, however, be supposed to imply by these remarks that Christianity in these early times was merely nominal or trivial, on the contrary there was much in it, as the examples of Aldhelme, Anselm, and others shew, which was deep, loving, and real. An edition of the works of this eminent man, the father of Anglo-Saxon literature, was printed at Mayence in 1601,<sup>8</sup> but his life written by King Alfred has unfortunately perished.

He died A.D. 709, and was buried at Malmesbury.

#### ATHELME, BISHOP OF WELLS.

It is well known that Ina, King of Wessex, a sovereign not more eminent for his courage and success as a warrior,

(6). Vitalicanus.

(7). Hook, p. 144.

(8). Dict. Historique de l'Avocat—Librn. of the Sorbonne.

than for his qualities as a statesman, a legislator, and a devout Christian, about the year 704 (five years, *i.e.*, before the death of Aldhelme, the subject of the preceding memoir) founded a collegiate church at Wells for four canons ; the church was dedicated to St. Andrew, and the little foundation is said to have been augmented in 766, by Cenulph (successor of Sigeberht in the West-Saxon territories). In this state this humble seminary of religion remained for 200 years, until the year 905, when, as we are informed by the historians of the times,<sup>9</sup> a Synod was held ; in pursuance of an edict issued by King Edward the Elder, at this synod it was resolved to increase the members of the episcopate and to erect three new bishoprics, to be taken out of the large dioceses of Winchester and Sherborne, these sees having become vacant in 909, some others also being found void at the same time. The Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated seven bishops, it is said, on one occasion. At this time, and since the year 890, Plegmund,<sup>10</sup> once the hermit of Plegmundesham, or Plemstall near Chester, was Archbishop of Canterbury, having been appointed to that see by King Alfred, who is said to have had a high opinion of his piety and learning.

Athelme had been chosen President, or as it was afterwards called Provost (now Dean), of the Canons at Wells, and was promoted to fill the new office of Bishop of Wells. By some authorities he is said to have been also Abbot of Glastonbury, but as his name does not appear in the list of the abbots in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, it is probable that he was only a monk of that religious house. Glastonbury, as is well known, was the Eton of Anglo-

(9). Ralph de Diceto, and William of Malmesbury, &c.

(10). Plegmund was consecrated in 890.

Saxon England, “ the chief seat of education for the upper classes of society.” From this great school of learning, when Plegmund had resolved to form Somerset into a diocese, he fixed on Athelme to be its first bishop.<sup>11</sup> The bishop elect may not have held so dignified a post as abbot of that important monastery, he may not have been either the provost or even the head master of the Eton of those early days, yet is it a sufficient attestation to his eminence as a scholar, a theologian, and a man of piety, that he was chosen by the King and the Archbishop to fill the office of first bishop for the Somersætians at Wells.

The Canon of Wells tells us that the dioceses supplied at this time by Archbishop Plegmund, were Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Devon, and Cornwall ; and that the bishops then consecrated were Fridstan, Bishop of Winchester ; Brornock, Bishop of Selsea (for Sussex) ; Eadulph Bishop of Crediton, for Devon ; Athelme, Bishop of Wells ; and Athelstan, who was seated at Petrockstow, or Padstow, in Cornwall, with two others.

After occupying the see of Wells for nine years, Athelme was considered the fittest person to be advanced, on the death of Plegmund, to the see of Canterbury. Collinson, in his notice of Wells, and Cassan, in his *Lives of the Bishops*, speak of “the strict integrity of his moral character, and of his intuitive knowledge of mankind.”

However that may be, having filled to the satisfaction of the Church and the crown the office of a suffragan bishop, it is surely no small confirmation of the esteem in which he was held, that, in the year 914, Athelme was selected

(11). It has been said by some (see Hook in Plegmund) that the vacancies in many of the dioceses were occasioned by King Alfred rigidously declining to appoint any but men of learning to the vacant bishopricks.

for the highest position which a prelate of the Church of England can be called to fill.<sup>12</sup>

If the question occurs, “ Why was Wells thus fixed upon as the seat of the bishop in this county ? ” no better answer can be given than that which Mr. Freeman has suggested in his able and interesting little volume on *The Cathedral Church of Wells*,—neither of the two larger towns then existing in the county, neither, *i.e.*, the “ Roman city of Bath, at one extremity, nor the English town of Taunton, founded by King Ina, on the south-west, were sufficiently central to form a suitable place of residence for the bishop. Glastonbury, surrounded by water in its Island of Avalon, was occupied with important pursuits, and of a different character, neither would its mitred abbot be likely to have approved the planting of a rival authority either on his chair, or in his immediate neighbourhood. Wells, therefore, seems to have been chosen for its more central position, where was already a body of clergy attached to the Church of St. Andrew, and the salubrity of whose springs was probably bringing the place, called also Welwe and Fonticuli, into some notoriety.

Most ecclesiastical preferments at this period were given to monks. Not that monastic institutions seem to be suited to the character of the English people—on the contrary there is a love of liberty, of independence, of self-conquest, and self-control, which are far more truly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. But many of the kings and archbishops under the influence of the

(12). From the dates which are assigned to the episcopate of Ealdhelm, sometimes called Adhelm, at Sherborne, and the appointment of Athelm or Adhelm first Bishop of Wells, it will be seen that there was an interval of about 200 years between the two prelates. Ealdhelm died at Sherborne in 709 ; Athelm of Wells died after his translation to Canterbury, A.D. 923.

Popes, discouraged the secular clergy, favoured and advanced the regulars.

It is very interesting to observe how steadily Wells has maintained the original character of its foundation amidst all vicissitudes of its history, from the very beginning down to the present day. Notwithstanding the power and prejudices of kings and archbishops—of the Edreds, the Odos, and Dunstans—the services of the Church have been continually performed, not by “cucullated” clergy, as was the case in all cathedrals of the new foundation, but by a dean and canons, as is the case now. And its “president” and four canons, such as they were in the 9th and 10th century, are represented now by the dean and four canons of the present period.

Mr. Irvine, who has acted as clerk of the works during the recent restoration of the west-end of Wells Cathedral under Mr. Ferrey, the architect, took a deep interest in the constructional history of the church. His very careful observations of the fabric, which are now published in the last volume of the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, convinced him that there were five periods in which the chief works of construction were effected. These five divisions are indicated by particular characteristics in the architecture and masonry.

To me this remark seems full of interest. It shows the zeal which prompted the clergy and people of Somerset in so many different periods to promote the enlargements, improvement, or restoration of their diocesan church—these costly additions or repairs prove in what high estimation their cathedral and its services were held, through so many successive ages. I look at these several restorations as “*petrifications*” of the motto, “*esto perpetua*,” and of

the desire of so many consecutive generations that their noble church and its services should last while the world itself lasted.

The great and good monarch of Wessex in the 8th century could not but be gratified if he were permitted to see his foundation at Wells, 200 years older than the bishoprick, maintained and flourishing, after the flight of ten centuries. Nor would *he* be disappointed if he were to behold the last restoration, which, by the liberality of his Somersaetians, has just been completed. If, standing at the new entrance gate,<sup>13</sup> he should behold Bishop Jocelyn's noble front, with its storied sculptures, and shafted canopies, supported by elegant pillars of Kilkenny-Purbeck, rising up from its levelled carpet of green, freed from all vulgar incumbrances, with a grandeur it never knew before, or certainly has not known for 400 years !

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#### EXTRACT FROM THE ACCOUNT OF THE PRELATES BY THE "CANON OF WELLS."

Plegmund, the most excellent learned man of his time, was borne in the kingdom of Mercia. In his youth he first dedicated himselfe to a solitarie life, and lived an eremite in the Island of Chester, which of him (as it should seem) was wont to be called Plegmundsham. He was taken thence to teach Alfred, that was afterward king of England. Being chosen archbishop, he travailed to Rome, in person, and was there consecrate. Soone after his returne, to requite belike the curtesie he had found there, he tooke great paines in collec-

ting the almes of al men wel disposed thro' the land, which the King sent together with much treasure of his owne by Athelmus Bishop of Winchester, appointing a certaine portion of the same to be conveied unto Jerusalem. Marianus then Pope, a little before had gratified the King divers waies. He had granted immunitie of tribute unto the Saxons schoole at Rome, and sent sundrie presents unto him, namely, among other things a piece of the crosse upon which our Saviour was thought to have suffered death. By this contribution his kindnesse was sufficiently requited. The most remarkable action of this Archbishop is, that the yeare 905, he consecrated seven bishops in One day. By reason of continual warres, all the province of the West-Saxons had been without any bishop for seven yeares, which Formosus the Pope *imputing unto the negligence of the King*, sent out an *excommunication against him*. He therefore caused Plegmund the Archbishop to call a convocation, wherein it was ordered that the country of the Gewisses,<sup>14</sup> which till that time had but two bishops (one at Winchester, another at Shirburne) should hereafter have five; viz., besides the Sees afore-named, Welles in Somersetshire, Crediton in Devonshire, and *St. Petrock's in Cornwall*. Unto Winchester was appointed Frithstan, to Shirburne Wolfstan, to Criditon Cendulfe, and to Saint Petrock's Athelstane. . . . . Plegmund sat archbishop 26 yeares, and dying ann. 915, was buried in his owne church.

“Athelm that had been Abbot of Glastonburie and was appointed the *first Bishop of Wells* was chosen to succeed Plegmund in Canterbury. William of Malmesbury saith that this archbishop laid the first foundation of the Abbey of Malmesburie, but it seemeth to be more ancient than so. He sat nine years. Died anno 924, and was buried with his predecessors.”

Of the appointment of Athelm or Aldhelm to the see of Wells, the Canon of Wells thus speaks (pa. 289):—

“It happened then (the yeare 905) that Plegmund Archbishop of Canterbury, by the commandment of the King, consecrated seven bishops in one day, whereof three were

(14). Gewisi—the West-Saxons.

appointed to sees newly erected; among the rest Aldhelm,<sup>15</sup> abbot of Glastonbury, was ordained Bishop of Wels, and Somersetshire allotted unto him for his diocese. He sat there ten years, and after the death of Plegmund was removed to Canterbury.

2. Wifelnius who saw Aldhelm both here and at Canterbury. He lived here nine yeares and there fourteen; a man (saith Poly. Virg.) famous as well for vertue as learning.

3. Elfeth.
4. Wifhelm.
5. Brithelm.
6. Kenewardus or *waldus*.
7. Sigar.
8. Alwyn, Adelwyn, Ealfwyn.
9. Burwold. His tombe is to be seene with his name engraved, upon the south side of the quier at Wells.

(15). Thus the Canon of Wells calls Athelm Aldhelm.

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*Galdhelm,*  
*First Bishop of Sherborne,*

AND THE MEETING OF THE ENGLISH AND  
BRITONS, AND THEIR TWO CHURCHES  
IN WESSEX.

—  
BY W. BARNES, B.D.  
—

THE few notes which I would cast into the increasing store of knowledge which is gathered by the Somerset Archæological Society, are not, in themselves, so truly history, as clues to a further insight into the meeting of the two races—Saxons and Britons, and, in later times, that of the two Churches—the Saxon and British Churches in Wessex.

The Anglo-Saxons came in on the Christian Britons as heathen, or “without Baptism,” as Aneurin, the British bard, says of them, in scorn,<sup>1</sup> and the West-Saxons were first called by the Gospel, in the mission of St. Birinus in A.D. 634.

Under Ine, however, a Christian king of Wessex, the settlement of the West-Saxons seems to have fairly reached down to the river Parret; and it is very likely that, while, as yet, they had not settled on the lands below the Parret, they claimed them as their own, just as we have heretofore landed, and planted our flag on some lands of

(1). Gododin xii. 14.

so-called savages, and called forth to the winds that they thenceforth belonged to England ; and they were at once our own.

About A. 705, King Ine cut off the western end of the over-wide bishoprick of Winchester, which was, indeed, the bishoprick of the whole of Wessex, of which Winchester was the thronestead, and so founded a new bishoprick, of which the bishopsettle was at Sherborne, and over which he set, as the first bishop, a friend and kinsman of his own, Ealdhelm. It is not easy to understand the line of the upper edge of Ealdhelm's bishoprick. The Saxon Chronicle says that he was bishop on the west of Selwood. "All to the east of Selwood," says a lately-printed outline of the history of the diocese, "remained in the diocese of Winchester. All to the west of Selwood was constituted into a separate diocese, the see of which was fixed at Sherborne." But we cannot hence mark the edge of Ealdhelm's diocese, unless we know whether it was west of the whole of Selwood, or west of the upper edge of it, or at what lines the wood itself was understood to end.

Asser, in his *Life of King Alfred*, gives the name of the wood as Selwood, in Latin *Silva Magna*, but in British, Coit Maur, or, in Welsh of our day, Coed Mawr—the Great Wood.

We should not readily believe that Selwood reached upward farther than to the unwoody chalk hills of Dorset or Wilts, though the "Stone of Egbert," where Alfred gathered his men against the Danes, is deemed by most writers to be Brixton Deverill. We may believe that it took in or touched Frome Selwood and Pen Zelwood or Selwood—in Somerset, if not Silton in Dorset ; and the names of the parishes of Wootton Glanville (Wudu-tún or Wood-tún), and North Wootton, near Sherborne,

bespeak them as in Selwood, or in some other wood that reached onward from it.

A Topographical Directory (Capper's, 1808) says, under *Frome* and *Selwood*, that Frome Selwood was the chief town in Selwood, and that it began there, and reached about fifteen miles long and six broad. And where then was the end of it? As far as I can see by the map of the land, it must have been at some unmarked line, which, if it was the boundary of Selwood, was yet no ending of the woodiness of the ground; so that Selwood must in that case have ended in the midst of a wood.

It is likely that Selwood reached to the chalk downs which rise by Stourton and Mere, and which wind onward from Shaftesbury to Blandford, as the eastern edge of the Vale of Blackmore, and that it held the more latterly out-marked forests of Blackmore, or the White Hart, and Gillingham; and in that case "Egbright's Stone," or Brixton Deverill, would have been, as Asser puts it, on the eastern edge of Selwood; and Mere, close under the chalk downs, might have been the Mere or Mearc—edge or boundary of it; and Mere Woodlands, like Frome Woodlands, would have been within it. And we may believe that the Selwood reached down through the then woodlands in Somerset, and that Ealdhelm was bishop of *Selwuduscir*—Selwoodshire, as Ethelwerd calls it, or the district which was below the chalk hills, and widely overspread with wood; and, indeed, that in the Saxon mind he was bishop of the whole of lower Wessex, down to Land's End, though, in Cornwall, the Britons were under the ministry of their own Church.

It is not likely that the woodlands ended at or near Sherborne, for Asser writes of King Alfred, as lingering for a time, with some of his followers, among the wood-

lands of still woody Somerset, near Athelney. Later writers have said that Ealdhelm's new bishoprick took in the counties of Dorset, Wilts, Devon, and Cornwall,<sup>2</sup> but it cannot be likely that the Selwood reached over the chalk downs of Wilts and Dorset, which could not have been, even in their wild state, a thickly-timbered land ; and if Ealdhelm was bishop of Dorset and Wilts, how can it be that he was bishop of a diocese only on the west side of Selwood ? It does not, therefore, seem to stand good that Ealdhelm himself was bishop over Wilts or eastern Dorset, or that his bishoprick reached eastward from Selwood ; but it is likely that, after Archbishop Plegmund, under Edward the Elder, had consecrated some new bishops, and some of them for new bishopricks in lower Wessex, one in Somerset (Wells), and one in Devonshire (Crediton, afterwards Exeter), and one in Cornwall (St. Germain's), then Wilts and eastern Dorset were cut from the diocese of Winchester, and given to that of Sherborne, which lost its western end to the new bishoprick below it.

A full and good list of Ealdhelm's works is given in the new edition of Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, and some of them may afford matter of interest, and clues to some further historical truths. Ealdhelm was a well-schooled man, and must have been a steady reader, in Latin at least, and had won himself no little skill in the common lore of his time, as well as in Biblical and Church learning. His style, as Bede says, was clear, and he had bestowed no less of thought on Latin prosody than on syntax ; and, indeed, the reader would sometimes be likely to take his verse as clearer than his prose. Among his main works are one in hexameter verse, and another of nearly the like matter, in prose, on celibacy, “ *De Virginitate, or Unwedlock,* ” built

(2). Foot note to Dr. Giles's *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, and *Canon of Wells*.

mainly of praise of unwedded labourers in God's work, whether patriarchs or prophets under the law, or apostles or other saints under the Gospel. Besides these pieces, and some letters and smaller bits, he wrote, also in hexameter verse, a poem on the *Eight Main Vices*, and about eighty riddles, or epigrams, of sundry lengths on sundry things, from the sea tides to a daddy-longlegs. Some of our readers may like to see the way in which, in the early times of less severe thought, he handled his subjects :—

## ON THE RAINBOW :

## “ DE IRIDE VEL ARCU CELESTI.

Taumantis proles prisorum famine fingor,  
Ast ego prima mei generis rudimenta retexam,  
Sole rubro genitus sum partu nubis aquosae  
Lustro polos passim solos non scando per austros.”

## ON SEA SALT :

## “ DE SALE.

Dudum lympha fui, squamoso pisce redundans ;  
Sed natura novo fati discrimine cessit,  
Torrida dum calidos patior tormenta per ignes,  
Nam cineri facies nivibus que simillima fulget.”

## A PAIR OF BELLOWS :

## “ DE POLIADIS.

Flatibus alternis vexor cum fratre gemello.<sup>3</sup>  
Non est vita mihi, cum sint spiracula vitae.  
Ars mea gemmatis dedit ornamenta metallis ;  
Gratia nulla datur mihi, sed capit alter honorem.”

## THE DIAMOND :

## “ DE ADAMANTE LAPIDE.

En ego non vereor rigidi discrimina ferri,  
Flammarum nec torre tremor, sed sanguine capri,<sup>4</sup>  
Virtus edomiti mollescit dura rigoris.  
Sic cruor exsuperat, quod ferrea massa pavescit.”

(3). This implies the old form of bellows, from which we have the wording “A pair of bellows,” or blast-skins, of which one filled while the other blew, so as to keep up an on-holding blast.

(4). Whence could have first arisen this belief that the diamond melts in goat's blood ?

On turning over the leaves of an old Latin book of *Peripatetic Physiology*, by Johannis Magirus, M.D., and professor of the science at Marburgh, in Hesse, I found a slight handling of the question why warm goat's blood melts the diamond, but he answers it not. He says that Scaliger could not give the reason of it, and so it must be an "Occulta Causa." The belief is most likely given in Aristotle's *Physics*.

ON THE ORGAN—

As it must be, though it is headed

" DE BARBITO.

Qamvis aere cavo salpinetae classica clangant  
 Et cytherae crepitent, strepitu que tubae modulentur;  
 Centenos tamen eructant mea viscera cantūs,  
 Meque strepente stupent mox musica corda fibrarum."<sup>5</sup>

One on the silkworm, and others on the peacock and on the magnet, show that they were not un-be-known to Ealdhelm.

Ealdhelm writes a riddle on pepper, which, by whatever line of traffic it came into England, was then found on the English board :—

" DE PIPERE.

Sum niger exterius, rugoso cortice tectus  
 Sed tamen interius candentem gesto medullam  
 Delicias, epulas regum luxusque ciborum,  
 Jus simul et pulpas battutas condo culinae,  
 Sed me subnixum nullâ virtute videbis,  
 Viscera ni fuerint nitidis quassata medullis."

One riddle on a book-case, " De Arcâ Librariâ," seems to show that in Ealdhelm's mind it was a book-chest, or box. Whether like the Roman capsula, for rolls, or a chest for bound leaf-books. Our word book-case, instead of book-shelves, would seem to point to a case. He makes its contents to be mostly divinity; as he says,

" Tota que sacratos gestant praecordia biblos."

(5). As it has happened of late years in many of our churches, where the fiddle and bass viol have yielded to the organ.

In a riddle " De Mola," the mill-stones are given, saying,  
 " Nos sumus aequales communi sorte sorores."

And Fire says,

" Me pater et mater<sup>6</sup> gelido genuere rigore."

ON A DRINKING GLASS:

" CALIX VITREUS.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nempe volunt plures collum constringere dextrâ,  
 Et pulchre digitis lubricum comprehendere corpus;  
 Sed mentes muto dum labris oscula trado  
 Dulcia, compressis impendens basia buccis  
 Atque pedum gressus titubantes sterno ruinâ."

Of the meeting of the Saxon and Celt in Wessex, it has been given as a truth in some of our histories that the Anglo-Saxons drove the Britons off the land, as clean as a man would drive a lot of stray sheep out of his field, and that they drove them into Brittany, and drove them into Wales. We may believe that many of them, and, above all, many who had holden land, and lost it, withdrew into Brittany, or Wales; but it is far less likely that they were driven or fled, in a body, out of the land, any more than we have driven the Neustrian kin out of the Channel Islands, or the Manx out of Man, or the Maltese out of Malta, or the Hindoos out of India, or the French kindred out of Lower Canada, or the Maories into another island. It may be said that the red men of America, and the men of Tasmania, and other tribes, have been driven out of their lands. It is true that they have, as tribes, more or less, nearly dwindled away, or died off; but it is not true that they have been driven, or fled into another land—for in what other land are they found? It, moreover, seems true that the rate at which one hitherto land-holding race may dwindle away before or under

another land-seeking one, is quicker or slower, as the inpushing race may be higher, or less high, above the landholding race in the might of civilization. We should most likely make head in New Zealand less fast against a German power as Germans are, than against a power as that of the Maories, brave though they may be. And we should bear in mind that the Britons, at the time of the Saxon inroad, as a Christian people, with Church schools, and a national school of poetry and music, and much of Roman civilization, were not so far below the Anglo-Saxons (if they were not, at least, even with them) as are the red men or Maories below the English. The Saxons overcame the Britons by their brave hardihood, in which they had been long trained in their never-ending struggles against the sea and foes on the shores of the north.<sup>7</sup>

The works of Ealdhelm, as well as the laws of King Ine, and other historical writings, will shew clearly that, in his time, and afterwards, Britons of sundry ranks were living in Wessex among the Saxons. For we find laws in the code of Ine for British men, as theows (serfs), and scotpayers, and men of one hide, and of five hides of land. Among the writings of Ealdhelm was a small book, though in Bede's opinion one of mark, which he wrote at the bidding of a Saxon synod, when he was a priest and abbot of Malmesbury. A book against the so-thought mistake of the Britons, in which, either they did not keep Easter at its true time, or did many other things which (in his opinion) were against the straightness and peace of the Church; and by the reading of it many of the Britons

(7). An old constitutional law of the Friesians, was that they should not be called out to war farther than on the east to the Weser, and on the west to the Flee, and on the south not farther than that they could come back in the evening to hold their land “*toe-ienst weeter ende toe-ienst den heydena hera*”—against water, and against the heathen prince.

who were under the rule of the West-Saxons were brought to the keeping of the Roman Catholic Easter-tide. A proof that Christian Britons deemed worthy of his care were living under Saxon rule in Wessex. And hereon a matter worthy of attention has been put forth by Mr. Thomas Kerslake, of Bristol, in a paper on *The Celt and the Teuton at Exeter*, where, as he has shown, the Britons and Saxons were for a long while living side by side, in their two sundry quarters of the town, the church of St. Petroc, a British dedication, being in the British quarter. Mr. Kerslake seems to have opened a hitherto unseen door of historical discovery, which may be open to other antiquaries in old British towns.

In such of our towns as are known to have been British ones, we find, in written or unwritten tradition, or from shells, or pieces of walling, of old churches, that the towns, at some earlier time, had a great many churches ; more, after the rate of their size and likely population, than had stood in towns which, though not of fewer houses, were at first purely Saxon ones, or only Roman *Castra*, but never British *Caerau*.

In seeking the British quarters of our old heretofore British towns for the furtherance of our knowledge of the meeting of the British and Saxon races, and their churches, we may hope to find a clue to the British side of the two-kinned population in the dedication of their churches, as St. Petroc's is a token of a British congregation at Exeter. Now, among dedications very likely to be British, or Celtic, is that of St. Michael. As that of St. Michael's churches on hills, in Cornwall, or at Glastonbury, and in Brittany ; and of Welsh churches, of which many are of that dedication, which is also found in some of the towns of the British *Caerau*. St. Martin was a Gaulish, and so a

Celtic saint, and it is clear that British churches were dedicated to him before the coming of the English, for Bede [B. I. cxxvi.] says that there was on the east side of Canterbury, in Ethelbert's time, a church dedicated to the honor of St. Martin, built while the Romans were still in the island ; and among the southern Picts was a monastery dedicated to St. Martin [Bede, B. 3, iv.]. And Marianus Scotus says that the Irish monks at Colen in his time (A. 973), [Marianus Scotus, quoted by Lloyd], made St. Martin the patron of their monastery. Of the Scilly Islands, named as we may believe by the West Britons, the five inhabited ones are called St. Mary's, Tresco, Bryher, St. Agnes, and St. Martin's. So that St. Mary and St. Agnes, as well as St. Martin, are British dedications ; though St. Mary's, as well as the Holy Trinity and All Hallows, may be a Catholic dedication, and either British or English, but is not uncommon in Wales or Cornwall. St. Stephen is honoured with British dedications ; and Launceston is said to be a down-worn shape of Llanstephen. St. Cross (Llancroes) is found in Wales, and among Celtic people elsewhere. And the Welsh have (under the name Llanbadarn) at least four churches to St. Paternus, to whom, I believe, a church was dedicated at Malmesbury [Caer Caradóc?] The little town of Wareham, Dorset, which seems to be the Môrin (Little Sea of the Morini), or the Dwrin (Little water), which gave name to Dornsaet, now Dorset, had formerly eight churches, of which two are St. Mary's and St. Martin's ; and Shaftesbury, Dorset (Caer Paladr or Peledyr), has had twelve churches, and among them a St. Martin's Church [Hutchins's *History*]. Canterbury (Caer Gaint) has had more than twelve churches, and four or five dedicated to St. Mary, with dedications to St. Martin, St. George, and the

Holy Cross. Cirencester (Caer Coryn), the Coryn being the stream now called the Chern, had two churches which are now lost. Chester (Caerleon), among many churches, has a St. Michael's, St. Mary's, and St. Martin's. Chichester (Caer Cei) has eight churches, and among them St. Mary's and St. Andrews. Gloucester (Caerloew) had formerly eleven churches. Ilchester (Esc. Lat. Isca Belgarum) at the Norman inroad had several churches. Lincoln (Caerwydcoed) had heretofore fifty-two churches, not without a St. Martin's, and more than one dedication to St. Mary and St. Peter. Norwich (Caer Cynnan) is said to have had twenty-five churches in the time of Edward the Confessor, and Broomfield's *History of Norfolk* says, "The churches are ancient buildings, and, till of late years, many of them were only thatched, one of them still remaining so."<sup>8</sup> Shrewsbury (Amwythog), formerly the thronestead of the Princes of Powis, has had many churches, and among them dedications to St. Michael and St. Mary. Warwick (Caerwythelín) had formerly six churches, and Winchester (Caerwent), had many, and dedications to St. Martin and St. Michael. Worcester (Caerwyrangón) had formerly eleven churches and dedications to St. Martin, St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Michael, and St. Alban, a Celtic Saint of Britain. York (Caer Efrawc) has had twenty-three churches, with at least two dedications to sundry saints, as St. Helen, St. Mary, St. Michael, and St. Martin. Bath and Bristol may not show strong tokens of a British quarter, as, most likely, the towns may not be on the ground of the British *Caerau*.

It is not unlikely that these very many old churches,

(8). Capper, quoting Broomfield in his *Topographical Dictionary*.

some of which were old beyond the backreach of our history, and the cases of two or three churches of the same dedication, in the same town, may give a clue to further knowledge of the meeting of the British and English races, with their two Churches, in Wessex, as far as those Churches may be tokens of the dwelling of a two-kinned population, for a while, in two quarters of the same town. The Saxons would not, as Christians, be in communion with the British Church, as long as they kept a sundry—the Roman, and not the British—Eastertide, and the later Roman rites ; nor, if the British congregations dwindled from their churches, would their buildings, therefore, belong to the English, or be wanted by them, so that some of them might slowly have fallen to other, or out of all, uses. That the two races were closely mingled in lower Wessex in the tenth and eleventh centuries, or at and about the time of Edred and Edwy, is clear from deeds of manumission of theows (serfs), the names of whom, British and English, show that some Englishmen, as well as some Britons, were unfree. Such deeds of out-freeing are given in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, and some of them, for Somerset and Cornwall, are put by Kemble into an Appendix (c), vol. 1, p. 496, of his *Saxons in England*.

It may be thought that, though some of the Saxons were unfree, all the Britons were in bondage. But no. It was not so ; for the deed of manumission was fulfilled openly, in the sight of witnesses, whose names the document often bears, and these witnesses were “good men” to the law ; but as bondsmen were nobodies to the law, it is clear that the “good men,” so called by the law, were free men, and men of higher rank than the serfs. And, indeed, some of them were priests, and men holding offices in the borough, and yet many Britons.

Some of the Church laws for the men of Wessex under King Ine and the Bishop Ealdhelm were :—Law (2). That a child should be baptized within thirty days of its birth, under a fine of thirty shillings. (3). If a theow man should work on a Sunday by his lord's bidding, he should be free, and his master should pay thirty shillings. And so after the rate for free men. (4). That people should pay their church scot (cyric sceat). The church scot being most likely the Easter offerings. (62). That a man should pay church scot for the home and hearth whereat he abode at Midwinter. And a godson and godfather were shielded by the law, (75) one for the sake of the other. So that if a man slew another's godson or godfather, he should pay *Bót* (amends) to the godfather for his godson, or to the godson for his godfather.

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# Poyntington.

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BY THE REV. J. HEALE.

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I SOLICIT your indulgence while I read what I beg to call my Parish Paper, No. II. I shall be as brief, I hope, as on a former occasion ; and without venturing to draw your attention to the peculiar features of the Manor House and of the other, older, specimen of domestic architecture which you will presently visit with interest, my few remarks will resolve themselves into more private details of our past, our present, and our future.

I will merely, in passing, remind you that the ancient and proper name of this parish is POYNTINGTON,—with a *y*—not POINTINGTON, a mode of spelling which is indeed occasionally seen, but used chiefly by illiterate men, or those who are ignorant of archæology.

In my former paper I mentioned (Vol. XVI., at page 66, where there are unfortunately some typographical errors<sup>1)</sup>) three discoveries which I had made, one of which was of an old parish register. To-day I have the pleasure of announcing one more discovery, almost as interesting as that of the parish register. The circumstance is some-

(1). At page 69, line 11, for “these discoveries” read “three discoveries ;” line 17, for “for more” read “it was more ;” line 33, for “pier” read “piers.”

what singular, and, therefore, I may be permitted to tell it.

Within a mile of where your President sat in 1870, and at the bottom of a trunk, belonging to, I believe, one of my hearers, there were mouldering away, whilst I was reading Paper No. 1., two fragments of parish books which had been removed, but a few years before, from this parish in entire ignorance of their real antiquarian interest, and of their rightful and true ownership. After some little difficulty they are before you to-day ; and I trust they will never again be allowed to pass out of the proper custody of the rector and churchwardens of the parish to which they belong.

I had mentioned that my old parish register, so strangely recovered from the dirt of ages, contained many interesting entries. So do the fragments of the churchwardens' and of the overseers' books. I cannot but hope that if I occupy five minutes of your time, and it shall not be longer, in reading to you some few of those extracts (which might be multiplied) I shall not weary you, but rather give you a deeper interest in our little village, which now has nothing of interest in it but what is ancient.

The fragments I now hold in my hand are those of two books, sadly defaced, and, alas ! even wilfully mutilated by the use of scissors.

The "Churchwardings" book begins with the year 1666, and continues for seventy-six years, with the entire loss of twelve pages.

The fragment of the overseers' book begins at 1716, and shows, out of 37 years, only 29 years' accounts up to 1752 and part of '53.

The first entry of the churchwardens is as follows, indicating what I have already alluded to, how much more populous our village formerly was :—

“Imprimis at Whitsuntide for bread and wine .. 1 9  
 It laid out for hospetall money at Medssomer .. 5 7ob.,”

and in the same year, and throughout many succeeding years, we find entries for bread and wine for four celebrations in the year, and the charge for the elements varies from 2s. 1d. at Whitsuntide to 3s. 2d. at Christmas, a somewhat large sum for those days. I find also frequent entries, at least twice a year, for expenses at Visitation “att Camell,” and for Sessions “att Brewton,” and “att Carie,” and “att Marson,” and “Privie Sessions” at Milborne Port and elsewhere. The first mention of a Visitation at Yeovil is in the year 1682. The churchwardens’ receipt for the sum spent by them I find sometimes takes this form :—“Reed of the parish for this yeare abovemensioned foer Chorch Rates after the rate of A Grote to A nobell, which som is in the hole £4 1s. 6d.

By us Thomas Norman } Church  
 William Hanham } Wardings.”

We were evidently bad spellers then, according to our present mode of Johnson and Walker; but though “shoues” was written for shoes, and “kott” meant a coat for “John harve,” we always spelled Poyntington with a *y*, except in some few years where the name is spelled “Pointington”; but in these instances the writing and the spelling both show that the office was held by very illiterate and uneducated wardens. Some of the entries cannot be deciphered. The following “a Count of” a fee to the Bishop’s officer is better than many such :—“To ye parriter for a prockley Massion.”

I find that in 1675 is the first entry for payment for polecats, and for “heggogs,” for “duzzens of sparrows,” and for foxes’ heads, all at the same rate of 2d. The standard of our charities was, I am glad to say, a little

higher. We gave “to a maimed soldier 4d.” ; “to a pore traveler with his wife and children, £0 0s. 4d.” ; to “11 mores cast away coming in several companys, £0 01s. 06d.” ; to “2 seamen that were taken by the Turks, 06d.” ; “five soldiers exchanged out of France, 6d.” ; (1688) to “one seaman with a petticion for his Brother that is A Slave in Turkey, £00 00s. 06d.” ; whilst in some years the entries of donations to “pore travellers,” or to seamen with a pass, or to a “pore man burnt by fier,” are nearly half of all the entries in the year.

I will conclude with one or two of these taken at random :—In 1686, “Laid out when ye farmer and I was at Brewton when the Commissioners sate concerning who was out in monmouth’s army, £0 4s. 2d.” In 1716, “for bureing A mad dog, £00 00s. 06d. 0q.” In 1689, after giving “to a poor blind woman £00 00s. 02d.” we “pd. ye Mountibanks for cureing of William King’s scruffhead, £0 10s. 0d.”

But such entries as these are of the “past.” I would rather pass on to our “present.” I have not yet made any extracts from the oldest parish register. I may do so, perhaps, when speaking of the future. For our “present” I can only repeat my assertion that we have now but little of interest amongst us but what is ancient. And you will perhaps better understand our present state if, passing over all allusion to the domestic buildings, I confine myself to what may be noticed in our church. Besides the Norman doorway I formerly referred to, you will notice our Norman font, with its cable moulding and its shaft of solid masonry. It is manifestly not in its original site, but was probably removed to its present position when the aisle was built. The recumbent figure is believed to be that of a Cheney, who built the aisle, in

which you will notice particularly the singularly beautiful and uncommon square-headed window over the niche, in which the knight's figure ought to be replaced.

On the south wall is monument to George Tilly, "erected" by one of the ancient family of Parham.<sup>2</sup> I have failed in attempting to find any representative of the Parhams, but within the last month I have been glad to learn that the "George Tilly, Esqvier," of the tablet, is now represented by the gentleman who holds the high and responsible position as Secretary to the Post Office.

You will notice within the interior of the yet unfinished chancel, in the vestry, a mural tablet with black letter legend to the memory of KATHARINE ST . . CCLI (?) "dñā de pontyngton."<sup>3</sup> The date of 1402 is almost entirely obliterated. I removed it in 1868, when I built my chancel, from the porch, where it formed part of the pavement, to its present position, in order that the interesting memorial might be less liable to obliteration. The lady (from whom I believe this manor passed four centuries ago into the possession of the present noble owner, the Right Honourable the Lord Willoughby de Broke) is said to have been the wife of "the noble and potent" Lord Fitzwarren; but the date of her death does not accord with that of the tablet itself; and there are other difficulties about the question which have yet to be reconciled.

The other tablet, to the Colier family, formed part of the pavement of the space between the altar rails. On the

(2). "Heere GEORGE Esqvier Lieth & MARY His Wife, This Beinge Erected By Sr Edward PARHAM Knight, Whoe Maried ye Daughter & Heire Elizabeth."

(3). "Hic. jacet. domina. KATHINA. ST . . CCLI. dñā. de. pontyngton que obiit. iii. die . . . . . anno . . . . . cccc. ii.

floor is the memorial of my predecessor in this living, and of the relict of R. Hesketh Fleetwood Williams, collaterally descended from the family of Colonel Fleetwood, who married Oliver Cromwell's daughter.

On the outside of the chancel walls there are three insertions of inscriptions. That on the north wall was found amidst the rubbish of the old chancel walls.

The large slab inserted into the face of the north-east wall of the chancel, to the memory of "Water Blobole Person of This Parish,"<sup>4</sup> originally, and up to 1868, formed part of an altar tomb which stood within the rails on the north side of the altar. It was his successor in the living, George Alford, clerk, who began the old parish register in 1618.

The tablet to the Pagets on the south-west side of the vestry wall originally stood upright on the south side of "the table." It is the only monument we have of any of the Paget family. The following memorandum in the aforesaid old register is interesting :—"Memorandum—That John Paget, clerke, was inducted into ye Parsonage of Poyntington, Aprill 25, 1691, by Mr. Caleb Cooke, Vicar of Milborne Port ; and read ye 39 Articles ye day following being Sunday." From that day—the first, I believe, on which a Paget came to live in Somersetshire—the name has been an honoured one in this county, and now the county has honoured it by having one of that family as one of its representatives in Parliament.

Nothing else of special interest demands our notice, though I may state, on the authority of the king of bell-men, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, that the oldest and the most musical of the good bells in my old church tower, which bears the black-lettered legend of "Maria" is of the

(4). "Here. Lyeth. The. Body. Of. WATER. BLOBOLE. Person. Of. This Parish. Bvried The. 19 Day. Of. January 1617."

14th century ; but the founder is unknown ; his mark will be engraved in the forthcoming book, now in the press, on the ancient bells of Somerset.

In the belfry portion of the tower you will find the remains of a fine old clock, of the date, I believe, of Elizabeth's reign. From the very earliest record we possess, the churchwardens were wont to pay "For kiping the clock one hole year, £0 12s. 0d." It was allowed to get out of repair about the year 1830.

One more sentence, including the present and the past. In my churchyard is a flourishing and vigorous young yew tree, which too much hides, on the north side, the beautiful proportions of my fine old tower. It seems to have been planted in 1694, in which year I find an entry, "Pd. for a yew tree, £0 1s. 6d."

I think I may well sum up our "present" by saying we are very proud of the past, and a little hopeful for the future. That future is mercifully hid from us, but we do indulge a hope, which I am sure will be fulfilled, that in the contemplated improvements in the parish, which are not unlikely, I understand, soon to be begun, every possible respect will be paid to all that is ancient, and that special consideration will be shown to all that most shows the infirmities of age ; and we have a very strong hope that, whatever else may be done, it will certainly happen that, either in the present Rector's time or his immediate successor's, our dear village church will be restored to something like its former beauty. We trust that, with due conservative care, a new north wall, and a new porch will be builded. The gallery removed will throw open the fine west window : and the splendid records, which you will notice directly, to the good and devoted Sir Thomas Malet and his brave son Baldwin, will find a place suited

for them ; and there will be over all a new roof, raised to its original pitch, indicated by the weather moulding on the old tower. Funds will, I am sure, be forthcoming. I have the pleasure of announcing that a lady, a native of Sherborne, now resident in Devonshire, has offered me, if I will begin, a donation of £5, *as a beginning* ; and that in November last a Doctor of Divinity from the United States, who came here claiming a cousinship, besides that which is National, with the Rector, because a common ancestor of theirs had been one of the *Pilgrim Fathers*, promised that as soon as the restoration of the north wall was begun, at least one stone, together with the wherewithal for its embedment, should be sent, with all cousinly good wishes, from South Carolina ! Some of the most remarkable entries in the parish register relate to help we formerly sent to other parishes. Almost the very first entry we meet with is, “July 31, 1653—Collected in our Church of Poyntington, toward the losse of Marlborough by fire, the sum of six shillings and halfpenny.” And similar entries relate to more than a dozen counties. To some places we sent as little as a few pence. “The breife for the fire hapning in the sugar-house situate in Coleharbur, in the parish of Alhaallows, in London, was read in our Parish Church of Poyntington, August 18, 1672. Collected to it three shillings and sixpence.” But we gave more to that sugar-house than to some churches. In 1685 we gave, “For rebuilding the Church of Portsmouth, to Joh. Savage, Collr., ye sum of two shillings one penny.” However, we gave twice that year, “for the Church of St. Bridgett’s, in ye City of Chester, ye sum of one shilling two pence.”

We were very abhorrent, seemingly, of play-houses, for under date 1673, after “The brie for the fire happening in

the Theatre Royal in Medelsex," there is no entry of any donation, and probably none was given.

The record of what we did for others in the olden time of our wealth and prosperity is but an earnest of what we are willing and desirous to do, according to our ability, for the restoration of our own dear old church. We think and feel that in the parish where lie the ashes of a Cheney, and a Stuckley, of a Malet, of a Tilly, of a Fox, and of a Paget —where a William Draper Best, who rose to become a Wynford, passed his childhood and his boyhood—there should be, and we will do our best that there shall be, a temple more worthy than it is of our great and good Lord and Master.

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# Memoir of Sir Thomas Malet.

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BY OCTAVIUS WARRE MALET.

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IN the able account of the parish of Poyntington by Mr. Heale (Vol. XVI. of our Proceedings, p. 67), he mentions the old Manor House as "having been, in the 17th century, the residence of Sir Thomas Malet then one of the Judges of the King's Bench (or Common Pleas), who for his loyalty, and adherence, to the cause of his royal master, suffered very severely in both purse and person."

Many families in Somerset and the West of England being connected with the Malets, it has been thought that a slight notice of Sir Thomas might be acceptable.

Sir Thomas Malet, or, as the name was then spelt, Mallet, a lineal descendant of the William Malet, honorably mentioned in Freeman's noble *History of the Norman Conquest*, was the son of Malachias Malet, and his wife, a Trevannion of Cornwall. He himself married a daughter of Sir Francis Mill, of Southampton.

Of the early life of Sir Thomas we have no record. He was first appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas on the 1st July, 17 Charles I, 1642, and knighted at Whitehall on the 6th of the same month. It is also recorded that he was again appointed a judge on the 31st May, 12 Charles II, 1672.

It appears from Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, that in 1642, while Sir Thomas was holding the assizes in Kent, "a petition to the two Houses of Parliament was prepared by the justices of the peace and the principal gentlemen of the county, to the effect, that the militia might not be otherwise exercised in that county than the known laws permitted; and that the Book of Common Prayer, established by law, might be observed."

Before the presentation of the petition, copies having been circulated among friends, "The House of Peers took notice of it as tending to cause commotion in Kent; and the Earl of Bristol having in the debate noticed that he had seen a copy, and had some conference about it with Judge Malet, who was the judge of assize in Kent, and newly returned out of his circuit, both the Earl and the Judge were presently committed to the Tower."<sup>1</sup>

This time Sir Thomas does not appear to have been long kept in confinement (I again get my information from Clarendon), as I find he was judge of the great assize at Maidstone during the summer circuit. While sitting there, "a committee of the Parliament came to the Bench, and required him, in the name of the Parliament, to cause some papers they brought with them to be read. Sir Thomas told them 'that he sat there by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, and that he was authorised to do anything comprised in those commissions, but he had no authority to do anything else; and, therefore, there being no mention in either of his commissions of those papers, or the publishing anything of that nature, he could not, nor would do it.' The committee, finding less respect and submission than they had expected, both to their persons and their business, from the learned judge, returned to the

(1). A portrait of the Earl of Bristol is at Sherborne Castle.

House with great exclamations against Mr. Justice Malet, as the fomenter and protector of a malignant faction, against the Parliament. A troop of horse, with an officer, were sent with a warrant to Kingston in Surrey, where Sir Thomas was then holding assize, and, to the unspeakable dishonour of the public justice of the kingdom, and the scandal of all ministers or lovers of justice, in that violent manner took the judge from the bench, and carried him prisoner to Westminster, from whence, by the two Houses, he was committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for the space of above two years, without being charged with any particular crime, till he was redeemed by his Majesty, by the exchange of another whose liberty they desired." The only notice we have of the intermediate time between the two imprisonments, is a letter to Sir Thomas from Charles I (whether autograph or not I do not know). In this it is said, "His Majesty had had a faire and just report of his Fidelity and Courage. Wee doe foresee that answerable to some other parts of their acoons they (the Houses of Parliamint) may endeavour to send for you and drawe you before them again, and soe put some disgrace upon us, and our service, for soe Wee doe, and shall esteeme it; but Wee having occasion to use you in the country where you dwell, for the peace of the place, charge you, upon yr allegiance you owe to us, that you repair to yr own House with all convenient speed, where Wee have use of yr special service, and to that place Wee shall addresse our despatches to you, and you must not faile to be there ready to receive them, and execute them with yr best endeavors. And least any violence shall be attempted to hinder you in yr returne, Wee have by letter sent at this time also commanded our High Sherif of Surrey to attend upon you, and carry you safe out of that

county, and wee have also written the like letters to others, the Sherifs of the Counties by which yo are to passe, that they assist you if there shall be occasion. Given at our Court of York ye last of July, 1642."

I have given this letter almost entire, as it shews the high esteem in which Sir Thomas was held, and also that that most attaching quality, a Personal solicitude for the welfare and safety of a subject, was felt by royalty, before the reign of our Queen Victoria, when instances of this kind feeling are (though highly appreciated) too frequent to excite particular notice.

During the time of the Commonwealth, prudence, as well as reduced fortune, must have induced Sir Thomas and his family to lead a life of seclusion, though two of his sons lost their lives fighting for the King.

That Sir Thomas conducted his duty to the satisfaction of the Crown, assisting in the trial of the regicides, after the restoration, is apparent, from the fact that the patent of a Baronetage of the United Kingdom was granted him, under the Sign Manual of Charles II. Appended to the patent is a long letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which acquits Sir Thomas and his heirs and assigns from the usual payment of £1,095, on account of Sir Thomas having voluntarily paid the maintenance of thirty foot soldiers in the army of Ireland. I give a short extract :—" And whereas Wee are resolved to confer on him the said dignity of Baronett, and yett upon just and honble cause us moving, Wee are well pleased that the said Sir Thomas Malet, his Heirs, Exrs., Admrs., and Asyns, and every of them, shall for ever and at all tymes hereafter, bee free acquitted and discharged of and from the aforesaid sume of one thousand nyntie and five pounds, &c." The remainder of the letter merely reiterates

this, and ends, “that it is signified to be your Majesties pleasure under yr Majesties Royal Sign Manual;” and signed, “T. Palmer, 19 Novbris 1663.”

The imprisonments named above were not the only sufferings endured by Sir Thomas. His second son, Baldwin Malet, as eloquently told by Mr. Heale, was killed in action, in this village of Poyntington. Mr. Heale relates that, “He is said to have leaped on horseback with all his armour on, right into the midst of the fight, and after killing more than a score, to have been brought back dead to his father’s house, and for fear of the plague, to have been buried the very next day. A fact confirmed by the old parish register.” I have seen, also (though I am unable to give my authority), that another son was killed at the battle of Roundaway Down.

Family tradition says that Sir Thomas’s house was plundered, and that her wedding ring was taken from Lady Malet. Her portrait is at Wilbury in Wiltshire, the present seat of the head of the family. In this she is depicted, rather ostentatiously shewing a black ring on her wedding finger, said to be a horn one, that she used when her proper one was taken from her. Another version is, that she wore a black horn ring in place of her wedding ring during the detention of Sir Thomas in the Tower. There being no written record, which is the correct account it is hard to say. One circumstance that makes me think it is true that the family house of St. Audries was plundered, is the want of any family relics antecedent to the time we are speaking of, and which, considering the position held by the family, would most probably have been preserved. I have been shewn an old triptych picture by Von Beust, in the possession of a collector, of Sir Baldwin Malet and his wife and children. This Sir Baldwin was

Solicitor-General temp. Henry VIII, and of the St. Audries branch. On the 17th December, in the year 1665, Sir Thomas, aged 83, died, and was buried at Poyntington. A small panel painting of his coat of arms, "Malet" quartered with those of "Hatch," and impaling those of "Mill," is still extant; with the motto, "Dieu vovlant je suis content," which, it has been supposed, was adopted by Sir Thomas (in preference to the older one, which we at present use, of "Ma Force De en Havlt") to shew that he was contented with his lot, such as it was. The family owe their most grateful thanks to Mr. Heale, the rector, for having preserved the memorials.

Sir Thomas never took up the title of baronet, we do not know for what reason. It may have been that he thought it was not a sufficient requital for his sufferings and services, or on account of his advanced age and impoverished circumstances, or that he was a claimant to a barony (still in abeyance).

I may here mention that the Communion plate of this parish of Poyntington has engraved upon it the Malet arms, and was probably given, either by the worthy judge, or by his widow.

The eldest son of Sir Thomas Malet, Sir John, Recorder of Bridgwater, and married to a Wyndham, of Orchard Wyndham, succeeded to the St. Audries estate, either by purchase from his kinsman (as said by Collinson), or, as I think, more probably owing to a failure of the elder branch of the family. This place went, I believe, to the youngest surviving son, Michael, but I have no record of anything done by him; and thus came to an end the connection of the Malets with Poyntington.

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# Trent.

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BY JOHN BATTEN, F.S.A.

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TRENT has so many attractions for the antiquary, the architect, and the historian, that some particulars respecting it and its possessors, supplementing those given by Collinson in his *History of Somerset*, will not, I hope, prove uninteresting to the Members of the Society I have now the pleasure of addressing.

The superior Lordship or Seigniory of Trent in the time of the Conqueror was part of the vast possessions of Robert, Earl of Moreton, which were afterwards known as "The Honour of Moreton." In *Domesday Book* Ansger is said to hold Trent of "The Earl." He also held of the same Earl, Preston on the west side of Yeovil, now called Preston Bermondsey, Odcombe, Isle now called Isle Brewers, and other manors in this county, several in Dorset, and Buckland in Devon. From the corresponding account in *The Exeter Domesday* we learn that Ansger bore the additional name of Brito, and this is confirmed by other evidence. *The Annals of the Abbey of Bermondsey*<sup>1</sup> tell us that in 1126 (26 Hen. I) Ansgerus Brito and Walter his son gave to the monks the Manor of Preston, and from another source<sup>2</sup> that Walter, the son of Ansger,

(1). Published by the Master of the Rolls.

(2). Cott. MSS. Claud. A. viii. p. 110.

gave to them two hides of land at "Stane," now called Stone Farm, in the parish of Preston. This Walter Brito gave (anno incerto) a corody out of his Manor of Isle and Chederlee to the Priory of St. Nicholas, Exeter, for the health of Hawisa his wife—Walter (?) his brother being a witness to the charter.<sup>3</sup> 12 Hen. II, Walter Brito answered for fifteen knights' fees in Somerset of the fees of Moreton, one of which was held by William Brito,<sup>4</sup> and all were held of the King in chief, and constituted the Barony of Brito. He held another knight's fee of Moreton of Richard Fitzwilliam,<sup>5</sup> and, 20 Hen. II, he paid sixty-six pounds and a mark for relief of his lands in Somerset and Dorset.<sup>6</sup> He died probably in this reign, as, according to Sir William Pole,<sup>7</sup> Chederlee was, temp. Hen. II, the land of Walter Croc, who was his nephew and one of his heirs. He did not however succeed to his inheritance without opposition. 1 John, Walter Croc pays a fine of 200 marks for having a recognition of Mort-d'ancestor of a moiety of the land which had belonged to Walter Brito in Trente, Otecumbe, Isle, Chedderlee, Stocleg' and Bukeland;<sup>8</sup> and in the same year John de Montacute, who appears to be in possession of the lands, fines for remanding the recognition demanded by Walter Croc against him of a moiety of "The Honour of Brito" in Otecumbe, Trent and the other places above-mentioned.<sup>9</sup> The result of the assize was in favour of Croc, who was found to be the next heir of Walter Brito, of a moiety of his "Barony."<sup>10</sup> It is not very intelligible from the language of the record, whether John de Montacute

(3). Coll. Top. et Gen. Vol. I. p. 386.

(4). Hearne's Liber Niger, p. 98. (5). Ib. p. 85.

(6). Pipe Roll 20 Hen. II. Dors. and Som.

(7). Pole's Devon, p. 192. (8). Rot. de obl. et Fin. 1 John.

(9). Ib. (10). Plac. Abb. 2 John, Rot. 6 in dorso.

did not claim some consanguinity with Brito, and it is quite possible that they may have been related, as Ansger was sometimes surnamed Ansger de Montagud.<sup>11</sup> Walter Croc did not retain the property long. 2 John, he granted to the King, in open court, the moiety of the whole barony which had belonged to Walter Brito his uncle, to the intent that Richard Briewere, and his heirs, might hold and enjoy the same.<sup>12</sup> 4 John, William Briewere paid a fine of 500 marks to have the daughter of Hugh de Moreville in marriage with his son Richard, and also for a moiety of the land which was Walter Brito's, then in the King's hands ; and Richard de Hasecumb, heir of the said Walter, came into court, and released to the King and the said William all his right to the said moiety to the use of the said Richard Briewere.<sup>13</sup> This Richard de Hasecumb was, we may conclude, another nephew of Brito, and coheir of his barony with Walter Croc. Although in the record called Robert de Hattecumb, he is no doubt the person who, 3 John, levied a fine of "The Ville of Ysle and of Odcumb" to the use of Richard Briewere and his heirs, receiving in return a grant in fee of two hides of land in Hasecumb,<sup>14</sup> which is an unknown part, either of the parish of Odcombe, or the adjoining parish of Brympton, but is to this day separately assessed to the land tax. It is clear that the entirety of the whole barony was vested in

(11). Since this paper has been in the Printer's hands my attention has been called by the addenda to the 3 Ed. of Hutchins' Dorset, to a notice in that work of the family of Brito, which substantially agrees with that given in the text.

(12) Lib. Nig. p. 372, where the charter is set out. Pipe Roll. 2 John, Dors. and Som.

(13). Pipe Roll. 4 John, Cumb.

(14). Ped. Fin. Som. 3 John, No. 48.

Richard Briewere, for, 13 John, he answered upon a scutage for the fifteen knight's fees of the Honour of Moreton, which, as we have seen, belonged to Walter Brito;<sup>15</sup> and about the same time he acknowledged the receipt from Hugh the Prior and the Convent of Bermondsey of forty marks, promised him for the confirmation of the lands of Preston and "La Stane," which they had by the gift of Ansger Brito and Walter his son.<sup>16</sup> Richard Briewere was the son of William Lord Briewere, a baron of great wealth and influence in the west, and died without issue in the lifetime of his father, who was succeeded on his death, 11 Hen. III, by his only surviving son, William. He also died without issue, 16 Hen. III, leaving his sisters—Alice, wife of Reginald de Mohun, and Margaret, wife of William de la Ferte, and the daughters of his sister Joan, wife of William de Percy, and the daughters of William de Braos, son of Griselda or Græcia, his eldest sister, and Hugh Wake, son of his sister Isabel, wife of Baldwin Wake, his coheiresses. Now to some or one of them, Trent, in the partition which was made of the barony, must have been allotted. But it is only recorded<sup>17</sup> that Alice de Mohun took (inter alia) the Manor of Isle and 4s. 7½d. rent out of the Manor of Trent, and the daughters of William de Percy a rent of 39s. 2½d. out of the same manor. Indeed there is no mention of the Barony or Honour of Brito, *eo nomine*, in the partition. The estates taken by Alice de Mohun, Margaret de la Ferte, and the daughters of William de Percy are set out in the roll, and the locality of the share of Hugh Wake is sufficiently indicated by his relief being accounted for by the sheriff of

(15). Pipe Roll, 13 John Dors. and Som.

(16). Cott. MSS. ubi sup.

(17). Close Rolls 17 Hen. III, m. 8.

Nottingham and Derby ;<sup>18</sup> but the estates constituting the allotment of the daughters of William de Braos are not recorded. However as we afterwards find both Trent and Odcombe in the possession of them or their descendants, we may safely conclude that they formed part of the Braos share. It should here be mentioned that Hawis Wat is said to have held Trent, in the Hundred of Horethorne, 19 Hen. III, of the gift of King John, and that it was worth £10.<sup>19</sup> But this cannot, consistently with the foregoing account, refer to the manorial estate, except to a lease or other limited grant of it whilst in the King's hands. A much more difficult feature is introduced into the title by a proceeding many years afterwards.

It is an Inquis. p. m. taken at Yeovil, 4 Ed. I.<sup>20</sup> The jurors there find that "Walter le Bret" held the Manors of Odecumbe, Milverton, Ile Brywere, and the Manor of Trente, of our Lord the King, in chief by barony on the day he died ; that the said Walter had two daughters, Alice and Annora, that the issue of Alice was Stephen le Bret, and of Annora, Henry Croc ; and that the said Stephen and Henry are the next heirs of the said Walter, and forty years of age and upwards, but there is no finding of the time of his death. Henry Croc was a nephew of Walter Croc, who, 4 Hen. III, had "entered into religion," and Umfry, his brother and heir, on whom his lands devolved, relinquished them in favour of Henry, his son, a minor, whose wardship and marriage were granted to William Briewere.<sup>21</sup> With the evidence before us of the transfer of the Brito Barony to Richard Briewere, so far back as 4 John, we must conclude that the Inquisi-

(18). Pipe Roll, 17 Hen. III, Nott. and Derb.

(19). Testa de Nevill. (20). Inq. p. m. 4 Ed. 1, No. 22.

(21). Excerpt e rot fin Vol. I. p. 41.

tion refers to the death of Walter Brito at the time we have mentioned, and the proceeding was possibly instituted by his then heirs, as a foundation for a claim to the estates which had been alienated after his death. The claim may have been set up at this time in consequence of the recent death of Joan, the widow of William Briewere, who held the Manors of Ile, Odcombe and Milverton, and perhaps Trent also, in dower.<sup>22</sup> The omission of the date of the death of their alleged ancestor shews that the parties were not well informed in an important and necessary element in such inquiries ; and as Walter Croc could hardly have been mistaken in the charter quoted above, in calling Walter Brito his mother's brother (*avunculus*), Alice and Annora must have been the sisters, and not the daughters, of Walter Brito, as stated in the Inquisition. There is, however, no reason for not giving due weight to the confirmatory and express evidence it affords us, that Trent was part and parcel of the Brito barony.

Assuming then upon the evidence set out, that Trent fell to the lot of the grand-daughters of Græcia de Braos, we will proceed to enquire who they were. Her son, William de Braos, married Eva, daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and left issue by her four daughters—Eleanor, wife of Humphry de Bohun ; Eva, wife of William de Cantilupe ; Isabel, wife of David, son of Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, and Maud, wife of Roger Lord Mortimer of Wigmore,<sup>23</sup> who not only acquired a goodly inheritance from their father, but, as coheiresses of their mother, succeeded also to the large possessions of the Earl Marshal, upon the death of her brothers without issue. But, although there were

(22). Inq. p. m. 49, Hen. III, No. 5.

(23). Dugd. Bar. i. 419.

four daughters, their maternal estates are said, by a recent authority, to have been divided amongst three of them only—Eva, Maud, and Eleanor;<sup>24</sup> and this must have been the case with the father's estates also, Trent being held by the same three in undivided shares.<sup>25</sup> Of the demesne lands a partition was subsequently made, but the manor itself, including the Manor Mill, to which in feudal times certain manorial rights were incident, and also the advowson of the church, which was appendant to the manor, continued undivided down to the reign of James I, if not later.

William Lord de Cantilupe, the husband of Eva de Braos, was of Aston Cantilupe, in the county of Warwick. The Cantilupes had other property in this neighbourhood. The Lordship and Hundred of Berwick belonged to them, in which was the Manor of Chilton (consequently called Chilton Cantelo), and part of Marston. 34 Hen. III, William Lord de Cantilupe and Eva his wife bestowed her one-third of the Manor of Trent in free alms for ever on the Priory of Studley in the county of Warwick.<sup>26</sup> This was a Priory of Augustine Canons, first founded in Stephen's reign, at Wicton in Worcestershire, but afterwards transferred to Studley, near Aston Cantilupe. It had fallen into decay, until re-endowed by the munificence of Lord Cantilupe's grandfather, and he himself again enriched it<sup>27</sup> with a grant of lands in Worle, Locking, Kewstoke, and Norton, in this

(24). Coll. Top. and Gen. vi. pp. 68—86.

(25). Dugd. Bar. i. 180, from which it would seem that Isabel was wrongfully deprived of her inheritance by Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.

(26). Ped. Fin. Som. 34 Hen. III.

(27). Dugd. Mon. vi. p. 185.

county,<sup>28</sup> part of the estates he had inherited as one of the coheirs of William de Courteney.

The priory held this one-third down to its dissolution as one of the lesser monasteries, 26 Hen. VIII. In the minister's accounts for several subsequent years<sup>29</sup> "the rent of the farm of the Manor of Trent in lease to Richard Lawrance" is accounted for. In the 38th year of that reign it was granted (except the one-third of the advowson) to Robert Brokelsby and Nicholas Girdlington, and subsequently distributed by sale amongst the owners of the remaining two-thirds, and perhaps others.<sup>30</sup>

The grant describes the premises as "The Scite and Capital Messuage of the Manor of Trent with the Buildings Curtilages Gardens and orchards adjoining; 8a. of Pasture called The Eight Acres, A close of pasture called Marles, 109 Acres of Land in the Common Fields of Trent all late in Lease to John Hannam and divers other tenements out on Lease—Also the third part of a water mill called Trent Mill with the fishery there and one Virgate and two acres of arable and pasture the other two parts belonging to William Gerard Esqre and Stukeley Gent and their heirs in fee—Also perquisites of Courts and also Trent wood 7½ acres set with underwood of oak and hazel. In Trent wood and Trent Grove and about the scites of divers Tenements there and in the hedges and closes pertaining to the same be 700 Elms and Oaks usually cropped of 30 40 and 50 years growth whereof 400 reserved for Timber to repair the Houses standing upon the same and for Stakes and for Hedgebote to repair and maintain hedges and fences of the same and

(28). Glaston. Reg. in the library at Longleat.

(29). Mon. Acc. 27 and 28 Hen. VIII m. 35, 30, and 31 Hen. VIII m. 17.

(30). Particulars of Grants Aug. Off. 38 Hen. VIII.

300 residue valued at 4d per tree which is in the whole £6."

As to the one-third of Eleanor, wife of Humphry de Bohun, it was probably sold by her and her husband, or their son, as, early in the reign of Edward I we find it in the possession of Robert de Seford and Matilda his wife. But the Bohun family remained chief Lords of the Fee. An Inquisition, taken 8th Feb., 47 Ed. III,<sup>31</sup> after the death of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, to ascertain the knight's fees held by him in chief, finds that he had half a fee in a third part of the Manor of Trent and—which identifies it with the part now under consideration,—that it was held by Robert de Wyke (a misnomer as we shall see for Roger), and was worth by the year comm. ann. 50s.

From Robert de Seford and Matilda his wife it passed to Sir Gilbert le Chasteley. The family of Le Chasteley was of great antiquity in the county of Suffolk, deriving their hereditary surname from their ancient office of *Castellan* to the sovereign or some great lord, in the same way as that of Chamberlayne, Spencer, Marshal, and others is derived. The name in the earliest records is therefore said to be written Le Chasteley, and not as subsequently, de Chasteley, and the arms of Alan le Chasteley, on his seal to a charter, 34 Ed. I, are, in allusion to the office—*or* three castles triple-towered *sa.* In the British Museum is a manuscript containing a genealogical account of this family, verified by transcripts of old charters relating to their possessions.<sup>32</sup> In its original state it contained the grant of Trent to Sir Gilbert le Chasteley and his son Alan, but that is

(31). Inq. p. m. 46 Ed. III, No. 10.

(32). Harl. MS. 6152.

now wanting by the loss of two of the leaves ; the date, however, of the purchase is preserved in a subsequent passage, which says, “The said Alan enjoyed the Manor of Trent in the County of Somerset by survivorship upon the death of Gilbert his father who had made him joint purchaser with himself anno. 13 Ed. I”—referring to fo. 7, being one of the lost leaves. From other evidence we find that the purchase only comprised one-third of the manor ; for, 15 Ed. I, a fine was levied between Gilbert le Chasteley, and Robert de Seford and Matilda his wife, of one-third of the manor of Trent to the use of the said Gilbert and his heirs, to be held of the said Robert and Matilda, and the heirs of the said Matilda, by the rent of 1d.<sup>33</sup> It is clear from this reddendum that the property was the inheritance of the wife. 17 Ed. II, it is found by Inq. that Alan *de Chasteley* held at his death one-third part of the Manor of Trent of Robert de Seford and Matilda his wife, by the annual rent of 1d. ; that it was worth £10 by the year, and that Thomas *de Chasteley*, his son, was the heir of the said Alan, and aged twenty years and upwards.<sup>34</sup> From Thomas, the son of Alan, this one-third descended, in the reign of Edward III, to Joan, daughter and heiress of his son, Thomas Chasteley, of Dinnington, in this county, by Emma his wife, one of the daughters and coheiresses of John de Cantelo, Lord of Chilton Cantelo.<sup>35</sup> Joan was the wife of Roger Wyke, whose family were seated at Bindon, near Axmouth, Devon. She became entitled during her minority to certain lands in Chilton Cantelo, as coheiress to her

(33). Ped. Fin. Som. 15 Ed. I, No. 100.

(34). Ped. Fin. Som. 17 Ed. II, No. 2.

(35). Coll. Som. ii. 339, Inq. p. m. 23 Ed. III, No. 47.

mother, and made proof of her age 36 Ed. III,<sup>36</sup> after the death of Walter Parker, her mother's second husband, who was tenant by the courtesy of the lands, which were held in chief by the heir of Lawrence de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, and in the custody of the Crown during his minority. The jurors find that the said Joan was the heir of her mother, and of full age, and that she was born at Dinnington, and baptized in the Church of St. Nicholas there. One of the witnesses states that "he well remembers on the day of the Baptism of the said Joan going with Thomas Chasteleyne her Father to Donyat Park (in the adjoining parish) and killing two deer there with bows and arrows and that the said Thomas Chasteleyne gave him the skin of one of the Deer to make a waistcoat in remembrance of his daughter's age."

This lady survived her husband, Roger Wyke, and became the wife of John Manyngford, *alias* Modyford, of the adjoining parish of Mudford. By a deed in Norman-French, dated 10th May, 1 Hen. IV,<sup>37</sup> "Between Robert Knŷvet of the County of Essex and Joan his wife cousin and heir of Gilbert Chasteleyne who was the Father of Thomas the Father of William the Father of John the Father of the said Joan, of the one part and John Manyngford of the County of Somerset and Joan his wife cousin and heir of Alan Chasteleyne—that is to say daughter of Thomas son of Thomas son of Alan brother of the said Thomas son of Gilbert, of the other part" It is declared that if the said Robert and Joan should die without issue of her body—the said Joan the wife of John Manyngford will be the heir and next of blood to the said Joan the wife of Robert Knŷvet of all lands which

(36). Inq. 36 Ed. III, Som. No. 36.

(37). Harl. MS. 6152.

were of the inheritance of the said Gilbert Chasteley and in like manner if the said John Manyngford and Joan his wife should die without issue of her body the said Joan the wife of Robert will be the heir and next of blood to the said Joan the wife of John Manyngford of all lands which were of the inheritance of the said Alan Chasteley." From an indorsement on this deed it appears that the above-named Robert and Joan did die without issue, and "That Elizabeth the daughter and heir of John Manyngford and Joan his wife is married to Thomas Affelton whose issue are John, Richard and Robert and the Lands descended to the said John from the said Alan are 'en Trent joute Yevle en la comte de Soms.'"

The Affeltons were of Affelton, in the county of Devon. Katherine, daughter and heiress of John Affelton, son of the above Thomas and Elizabeth, brought this one-third to her husband, Hugh Stukeley, sheriff of Devon, 27 Hen. VI. His son, Sir Nicholas Stukeley, married Alice, daughter of Sir John Wadham, the owner of Chilton Cantelo, and was no doubt the Nicholas who, according to Westcote,<sup>38</sup> resided at Trent. His mother, who survived her husband, was married secondly to William Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarine.<sup>39</sup> She died 7 Ed. IV, and was buried according to the directions of her will in the Church of West Wolrington, Devon, in which parish Affelton lies, and not at Poyntington, as has been supposed. The inscription on the grave stone in the porch of Poyntington Church refers to Katherine, widow of Sir John Streeche, or Streche, whose daughter Cicely was married to Sir William Cheney, Lord of Poyntington.<sup>40</sup>

(38). Westcote's Devon, pp. 579, 585.

(39). Pole, 439. Dugd. Bar. ii. 131.

(40). Pole, p. 303.

In the hall window of the old Mansion House of Breakspeare, near Harefield, Middlesex, there was a shield of the Stukeley arms and their quarterings, amongst which were those of Chastelyn and Cantilupe, and a chevron between three roses *gu.* for Manyngford.<sup>41</sup> Roger Manyngford was sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, 1372, and escheator of those counties, 1389.

36 Hen. VIII, Hugh Stukeley, grandson of Sir Nicholas, sold this one-third to John Young, and with his son Lewis Stukeley, levied a fine of the Manor of Trent (but which passed in fact only one-third) and twelve messuages and divers lands in Trent, the third part of one water mill, and one-third part of the advowson of the Church of Trent, to the use of Young in fee.<sup>42</sup> He was succeeded by his son, William Young, who died 29th March, 1623. By Inq. p. m. taken 15th January, 5 Charles I,<sup>43</sup> it was found that John Young, his son, died 30th September, 1630, leaving by Anna his wife, daughter of Robert Harbyn, William Young his son and heir, and seized of the Manor of Trent and one-third of the advowson of the church held of the Hundred of Horethorne in socage and also of other lands purchased of the grantees of the priory estate, and described as "three closes of land in Trent containing 16 acres and one coppice wood called Studleys Wood 12a. parcel of the possessions of the late Priory of Studley held of the King in chief by knight's service." The whole of the Young estate was sold by a subsequent member of that family, and became united with the other parts of the manor

(41). Gent. Mag., vol. xciii. p. 209.

(42). Ped. Fin. Som. Trin. Term 36 Hen. VIII.

(43). Harl. MSS., Cole's Esch. i. p. 261.

in the ancestors of our President, Mr. Danby Seymour, the owner of the entirety.

The mansion house belonging to the Youngs is that on the south-west of the church, now occupied by Mr. Stacey, and in the window of a small chamber, which has the appearance of an oratory, are the arms of Young—or three roses and a canton *gu.*, which were confirmed to William Young in 1615. On the ceiling beam of the parlour are three coats in plaster—a dolphin embowed (Fitzjames), a stork (Storke), and an eagle displayed—which arms are also on escutcheons in the church. There is a fourth, apparently a butterfly, which may refer to Nicholas Girdlington, one of the grantees of the priory lands, who bore three butterflies for his arms.<sup>44</sup> Richard Fitzjames was Rector of Trent, 1476.

We have yet to deal with the one-third of Maud, the wife of Roger de Mortimer, which (with the exception perhaps of the seignority) was not long retained by her. 8 Ed. I, Henry de Wollavington came to the assizes at Somerton,<sup>45</sup> and asked that a charter might be enrolled, by which, in consideration of sixty marks, Lord Roger de Mortimer released to the said Henry, son and heir of Henry de Wollavington, certain lands and tenements in Trent, which belonged to the said Henry his father,—probably as lessee. And 7 Ed. III<sup>46</sup> a fine was levied, wherein John de Wollavington and Agnes his wife were plaintiffs, and William Fitz Richard de Caleshall, and Peter Pownsond, defendants, of a rent of £6 7s. 2d., and four bushels of corn in Trent and Chilton Cantelo, and one-third part of the Manor of Trent, and of the

(44). Coll. Top. and Gen. iv. p. 190.

(45). Assize. Rolls. Som. 8 Ed. I.

(46). Ped. Fin. Som. 7 Ed. III, No. 120.

advowson of the church of the same manor, to the use of the said John and Agnes, and the heirs of the said John. But it appears at the same time to have been in the hands of Sir Thomas West, first Lord West (whose wife was a first cousin of William de Cantilupe), for, 6 Ed. III, he, with others, presented a clerk to the Church of Trent. And 32 Ed. III, by a fine, wherein his son, Sir Thomas West, was plaintiff, and John de Terstwode, or Testwode, and Maria his wife, were defendants,<sup>47</sup> (*inter alia*) one-third part of the Manor of Trent, was entailed on the said John and his issue. Notwithstanding this, the said John and Maria, in consideration of 100 marks, levied a fine, 2 Rd. II, of one acre of land in Trent, and the advowson of the Church of Trent, to the use of John Harewell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his heirs in fee.<sup>48</sup>

The settlement made by Sir Thomas West is referred to in the Inquisition taken after his death, 22nd September, 10 Richard II.<sup>49</sup> The Jurors find that Thomas West Chiv., deceased, once held one-third part of the Manor of Trent, with the third part of the advowson of the church, which was held of the heirs of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by knight's service, but which, long before he died, he had by charter given and confirmed to John Testwode, and the heirs of his body, with remainder for default of such issue to himself in fee ; that the said third part of the manor was worth by the year ten marks, and the church twenty marks. This Inquisition, it will be observed, says this share was held of the Bohuns ; if so, Humphry de Bohun must have acquired the lordship of two third parts at least, and it may have been one of the results of

(47). Ped. Fin. Divers Counties, 32 Ed. III.

(48). Ped. Fin. Som. 2 Rd. II, No. 17.

(49). Inq. p. m. 10 Rd. II, No. 52.

a litigation between him and Roger de Mortimer and Maud his wife, relative to the Braos Estates.<sup>50</sup>

I have found no intermediate link in the title of this one-third until the reign of Henry VIII, when it belonged to the Storke family, who inhabited the ancient house on the north-west side of the church, now occupied by Mr. Seymour, and celebrated as a place of refuge for Charles II, after the Battle of Worcester. The main front of the house is comparatively modern, having been erected by Sir Francis Wyndham, in 1706. But there are subordinate parts of the building much earlier, which still exhibit features of a mediæval house, and raise a suspicion that the royal fugitive was not the first Papist in disguise who had been concealed within its walls.

The family of Storke, of which perhaps, that of Starky of Lancashire, connected by marriage with the Gerards of Ince, may be a variety (both bearing for their arms a stork), were not improbably lessees under the priory. They had an early connection with the counties of Somerset and Dorset. John Storke was, 20 Hen. VI, party with Tristram Burnell to a fine of lands in Yeovil and Chilthorne; and Alice, his widow, died 15 Ed. IV, seized of lands in Bagber, in Sturminster Newton.<sup>51</sup> Tristram Storke, of Trent, who was returned as one of the gentry resident in Somerset, temp. Hen. VII, died 1532, leaving, as is recorded on the tablet in the church, by Alice his wife daughter of Robert Bingham of Bingham's Melcombe, four daughters his coheiresses, viz., Joan, the wife of Richard Compton; Ann, the wife of John Larder; Isabel, the wife of Alexander Seymour of Evenswinden Wilts, and Bourton Oxfordshire (a younger

(50). Plac. Abbr. 4 Ed. IV, p. 266.

(51). Inq. p. m. 14 Ed. IV, No. 12.

branch of the Duke of Somerset's family), and Mary the wife of William Gerard, who in the partition of her father's property took, we may presume, Trent as her share.

The Gerards came to Trent immediately from Dorsetshire, but they claimed, as appears by the monument to Wm. Gerard in the church, to be of the same family as the Gerards of Bryn in Lancashire. John Gerard, of Friar Mayne, temp. Ed. IV, was the direct ancestor of the Trent branch,<sup>52</sup> the elder line terminating in an heiress, married to Sir Nathaniel Napper, or Napier, now represented by Mr. Gerard Sturt.

William Gerard, grandson of William Gerard and Mary Storke, died 1st May 1604, leaving Mary his wife, and Thomas his son, surviving, seized of "one third of the Manor of Trent and of 4 acres more in Trent" and of the Manors of West or Gerard's Waddon, Broadway, and Nottington, Dorset.<sup>53</sup> And in 1607 the benefit of the recusancy of Mary Gerard of Trent, his widow, was granted by the Crown to David Stewart.<sup>54</sup>

Thomas Gerard, son and heir of William, married in 1618 Ann, second daughter of Robert Coker of Map-powder, and their daughter and coheiress Ann was the wife of Sir Francis Wyndham, who by that means became possessed of the Gerard part of the manor and estate.

It is worthy of remark that in the adjoining parish of Sandford Orcas there was resident, from the reign of Hen. IV, if not earlier, down to the time of James I, another distinct family of Gerard or Jerard, who were owners of a moiety of that manor, which John Jerard

(52). Hutch. Dorset, 3 ed. Vol. I. p. 608.

(53). Cole's Esch. iv. p. 191.

(54). Hutch. Dorset, Vol. I. p. 556.

settled by charter dated at Sandford, 20th January, 9 Hen. V.<sup>55</sup> The arms on his seal are a chevron between three ermine spots, and the inscription "Sigillum Johannis Jerard," and yet over the west door of an old manor house in Sandford there was, and perhaps is still, a lion rampant crowned, the arms of the Gerards of Trent.

An heiress of the Sandford Jerards was married in the reign of Richard II to Richard de Strode of Parnham,<sup>56</sup> whose descendants quartered the arms of Jerard. William de Strode, son of Richard and Alice his wife, levied a fine of lands in Trent, 36 Hen. VI, which lands were sold by the Strodes, in the reign of Charles I, to William Gundry of Trent gentleman, and have lineally descended through his heiress to Mr. Flambert, the present owner.

There is considerable obscurity in the title to the advowson, especially about the time of the Reformation. The first incumbent noticed in the register is Thomas de Upton sub-dean, rector of Donyat (where as we have seen Thomas Chasteleyne resided), and afterwards Archdeacon of Wells, who was, 6 Ed. III, presented by the Prior and Convent of Studley, Thomas Lord West, and Thomas Chasteleyne, the three owners of the manor. In 1361, William Pikewille was on the death of Upton presented by the Crown alone, the presentation belonging to it, as the register states, by reason of the minority of the heir of Thos. Chasteleyne, although why that circumstance should affect the rights of the other two owners is not intelligible.

The priory join in the presentations regularly down to its dissolution, but it is difficult to connect the other patrons with the title we have traced until the time of

(55). Harl. MS. 1141, fo. 41.

(56). Hutch. Dor. 3 ed., vol. 2, p. 131 Coker's Dors. p. 21.

Nicholas Stukeley. After the dissolution the crown which had only, so far as appears from documentary evidence, acquired the one-third belonging to the priory, appropriated the entirety and presented alone down to 6 James I, when it was granted<sup>57</sup> with other advowsons to Sir Henry Fowkes, Kt., and by him sold four years after, with the advowson of Gyrlington, Oxfordshire, to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for £350.

In 1680, John Young, a descendant of the purchaser, claimed one-third of the advowson, which had been bought by and conveyed to his ancestor, and contested the right of the college to it. The case set up by Young in the pleadings was this. That one Storke left three coheiresses and divided the manor and advowson between them; one married Hugh Stukeley, who conveyed one-third of the manor and advowson to the plaintiff's ancestor, John Young, another daughter married Gerard, and another continued a maid and left her part to the Priory of Studley, whence it came to the Crown on the dissolution, and whilst it remained in the King's hands he alone presented, but that since he had granted his right to a subject, the plaintiff was entitled to his one-third. But upon a trial at Wells, September 23rd, 1680, the college got a verdict.<sup>58</sup> It is impossible to reconcile Young's case with the recorded title, and it is fair to assume that he was unable to support it by evidence. On the other hand it is as difficult to understand on what grounds the college succeeded, there being no evidence of the title of the Crown, either to the Young or the Gerard third, although the latter may have been forfeited or transferred by the disabling statute against papists.

(57). Pat. Rolls, 6 Jac. I. pt. 14.

(58). MS. of B. Smyth, Rector of Trent.

The following list of presentations kindly furnished to me from the Registry at Wells will complete the series given in Collinson :—

DATE	INCUMBENTS	PATRONS
1333-6, Feb.	Thomas de Upton	Prior of Stodlegh, Thomas West, and Thomas Chasteley
1361, 18th Feb.	Wm. de Pikewille	The King by reason of the minority of the Heir of Thomas Chasteley
1424, 11th Oct.	Richd. Penyfade	Prior and Convent of Stodley, Thos. Beau- champ, Kt., John Rendall, and John Bottreaux
1427, 18th Oct.	Wm. Morys	Ditto
1427, 3rd Feb.	Henry Blakmoor, in exchange with Wm. Morys	By consent of ditto
1440, 29th May	John Pleymarke	Giles Rendale, John Bottreaux, and Prior and Convent of Studdelegh
1460, 14th Sept.	Thos. Caas	Said Prior & Convent, Wm. Boucher, Lord Fitzwaryn, Kt., and Wm. Wayte, Esq.
1476, 23rd July	Richard Fitzjames	Said Prior & Convent, Nicholas Stukeley, Esq., and John Bonvyle
1485, 31st Jan.	John Lugwarden on the death of John Combe (sic)	Said Prior & Convent, John Bonvyle, Rich. Stucley, and Wm. Roo, gent.
1500, 10th Nov.	Henry Stevyns	Said Prior & Convent, Thos. Stucle, and Alice, widow of Giles Rendale, gent, also Alice Clayton

With regard to the church itself I must leave a particular description of it to abler hands. The nave and chancel are Perpendicular, but the tower is Decorated. It stands on the south transept, which is lighted by a three-light window on the south, and another smaller one on the east. It is terminated by a pierced quatrefoil parapet, supported by a corbel table, with crocketed pinnacles (lately restored) at the four corners. Rising from it is an elegant spire, 35 feet high, with moulded angles. This tower with its spire always struck me as a peculiarity not congenial to the Somersetshire type, a spire being of rare occurrence, and the tower generally a western one. But when we consider who the patrons were at the period when the tower was erected, and also what was the prevailing style of Warwickshire, we may fairly conjecture that we are indebted to the Priory of Studley for introducing the novel feature we so much admire ; and this conjecture is strengthened by the invocation to the Patron Saint of the Priory on one of the bells “ *Augustine tuam campanam protege sanam.* ”

Corresponding with the south transept is a chapel on the north side of the nave the eastern window of which, as well as the single lancet light in the western end, are also of the Decorated period. Under the recessed arches in the north wall of this chapel are two stone effigies, which Collinson erroneously attributes to the Gerard family. The western effigy represents a man in plate armour of the period of Ed. III. He wears on his head a conical bascinet, with a camail attached, and he rests on his tilting helmet, the crest of which is defaced ; on the elbows and knees are strapped elbow pieces and knee caps ; the legs are cased in greaves ; the feet, girt with heavy spurs, rest on a dog statant. Attached to the girdle is his great

sword on the left side, and a short dagger on the right. There is no shield. His hands are raised on his breast in prayer. The face is exposed with a moustache on the upper lip ; signs of colouring are slightly apparent on the surface. There is no record or tradition assisting us to identify this figure, and I gave up the case as hopeless until a second examination. Then on looking closely at the tilting helmet I discovered that, although only a fragment of the crest remained, it was certainly the body of a duck or goose. Now the arms of Wyke are a chevron between three barnacles, or solan geese, close,<sup>59</sup> and the effigy is, I venture to suggest, that of Roger Wyke, the first husband of Joan Chasteleyne, owner of one third of the manor, who died between 36 Ed. III and 1 Hen. IV.

The other effigy is of a different character. It represents a civilian, and apparently a youth. The head which rest on two cushions is uncovered, and the hair is short and formally dressed. The body is draped in a close tunic, the folds of which about the neck and shoulders indicate a kind of hood. Round the waist is a girdle with a sword attached on the left side ; the feet rest on a dog couchant. It is possible this figure may be intended for a son of Roger and Joan Wyke.

The chapel is probably that of the chantry, founded by John Frank or French, a native of Trent, and Master of the Rolls in the reign of Hen. VI. He was of Oriel College, Oxford, and a lawyer of great repute, rendering great assistance to the chancellors of that King, in enlarging the equitable jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, and establishing it on principles which are still observed.<sup>60</sup> The chantry was founded *within* the church,

(59). Westcote's Devon, p. 558.

(60). Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.

and this chapel appears to be the only part of it appropriate for the chantry altar and services. But, as it was not founded until the time of Hen. VI, the chapel, which is much earlier, must have served some purpose previously. There is no record of any other chantry connected with the church, and it has been conjectured that, although the position is unusual, it may have been a Lady Chapel. But, looking at the exterior, and the style of the arch in the interior, so far as the original work remains, may it not originally have been a real transept, corresponding with the other, with the Decorated window then in the north wall, but removed to the eastern end when the chapel was enlarged, and adapted for the purpose of Frank's chantry ?

On the suppression of chantries the temporalities of this one vested in the Crown ; and by a grant, 2 Ed. VI,<sup>61</sup> the mansion (or manse) of the chantry of Trent, within the church there, with the stables and garden adjoining, then in the occupation of John Shete, clerk, the late incumbent, and worth 6s. per annum, was granted to William Fountayne and Richard Mayne, for the sum of £6. By a memorandum on the receipt for the money it appears that the endowment consisted of an annual rent of £8, granted by the provost and scholars of Oriel College, by the license of King Henry VI, to the rector of Trent, and the men of the same ville, for the support of the chaplain, and for the obit of John Frank, viz., for the salary of the chaplain and the repairs of his manse and the ornaments of the chapel, £7 6s. 8d. ; and for the obit, 13s. 4d. It is added that there hath been yearly (*i.e.*, since the suppression) distributed amongst the poor people of the parish 10s. 8d.,

parcel of the said sum of 13s. 4d., granted for the maintenance of the obit. The house of the chaplain is still standing adjoining the churchyard. It is a building of a superior character, with some of the original windows and doorways remaining, but the coats of arms mentioned by Collinson are gone.

The chapel itself seems to have been taken possession of by the Gerards, when they succeeded to their estate in the parish, and Collinson has preserved many inscriptions on the floor, relating to their burial, which have now disappeared. The soffit of the arch dividing it from the nave is decorated with two genealogical trees, with nearly forty shields of arms suspended on the branches, exhibiting respectively the arms of Thomas Gerard and Ann Coker his wife, and their different alliances. The painting, which had become faded and defaced, was in the year 1792 restored at the expense of the Wyndham family and Mr. Seymour, and the heraldry was corrected under the superintendence of Francis Townshend, Windsor herald. It must have been on this occasion that a shield was added with the arms of Wyndham. The arms are so clearly delineated in the plate in Collinson that it is not necessary to set them out here, but the following is believed to be a correct list of the families bearing them, which information Collinson does not give :—

*The Gerard tree*, on the north side of the arch—1, Otho, the common ancestor of Windsor, Fitzgerald, Gerard, and other families ; 2, Windsor ; 3, Gerard de Windsor, imp. Bryn—Prince of Wales ; 4, Gerald or Fitzgerald, Earl of Kerry ; 5, Gerard, imp. Kingsley ; 6, Gerard, Earl of Desmond ; 7, Gerard and Bryn, quarterly, imp. Bromley ; 8, Gerard, imp. Bryn ; 9, Gerard and Bryn quarterly, imp. Stanley ; 10, Gerard, imp. Meers ; 11, Gerard, imp.

Ratcliffe ; 12, Gerard, imp. Wells ; 13, Gerard, imp. *gu.* a chevron *or* between three swans or geese (*Lyte* or *Wyke*?) ; 14, Gerard and Bryn quarterly, imp. Dutton ; 15, the same, imp. Storke ; 16, Roper, imp. Gerard ; 17, Hansby (?), imp. Gerard ; 18, Gerard, imp. Willoughby ; 19, Gerard, imp. Allen ; 20, Wyndham, Bart., with Gerard and Bryn quarterly, on an inescutcheon.

*The Coker tree*, on the south side—1, Coker ; 2, Coker of Bower, imp. Norris ; 3, Seymour, imp. Coker ; 4, Coker, imp. Walsh ; 5, quarterly, one, two, and three, Seymour and Beauchamp, four Coker ; 6, Coker, imp. Vele (by which marriage Mappowder came to the Cokers, temp. Henry V) ; 7, Bingham, imp. Coker ; 8, Coker, imp. Turges ; 9, Ludlow, imp. Coker ; 10, Coker, imp. Malet ; 11, Coker, imp. Strode ; 12, Coker, imp. Sutton ; 13, Daubeny, imp. Coker ; 14, Coker, imp. Beaumont ; 15, Husey, imp. Coker ; 16, Coker, imp. Turberville ; 17, Brune, imp. Coker ; 18, Coker, imp. Petre ; 19, Coker, imp. Williams ; 20, Coker, imp. Moldford.

On one side of the arch is a panache, issuing from a coronet, intended for the crest of Gerard de Windsor<sup>62</sup>—although doubts are entertained whether the panache should ever be so considered—and on the other side a Saracen's head for the crest of Coker. On a shield affixed to the wall of the chapel is this coat; Party per pale, baron and feme—1, Storke ; 2, *arg.*, a chevron *sab.*, between three eagles disp. of the same ; 3, *az.*, three cov. cups *or* ; 4, *arg.*, an eagle disp. *sab.* (qy. Bryn) ; 5, Paly indented *gu.* and *or* ; 6, *arg.*, a saltire *sab.* within a bordure of the last—imp. quarterly 1 and 4 ; *az.*, a bend cotised

(62). See the seal of William de Windsor, 1381, in *Boutell's English Heraldry*.

*or* between six crosses patee of the same (Bingham); 2 and 3 *erm.*, a lion ramp. *gu.*, crowned *or* (Turberville). Several of these arms have not yet been identified.

There was formally a chapel at Adbere in this parish, served by the rector—but at one time so reluctantly that the inhabitants were compelled to seek redress. In the reign of Hen. VIII the inhabitants of Overadbeare instituted a suit in Chancery against Emericus Tuckfield, clerk, rector of Trent, and others, to compel the due performance of the service in the chapel, and it is recorded in the Book of Decrees in Chancery,<sup>63</sup> on the 20th November, 37 Hen. VIII, “This day the said Emericus Tuckfield hath appeared in proper person, and hath confessed in open court that the said Plaintiffs ought to have a priest found at the Chapel at Overadbeare according to an ancient custom and is contented that a priest be found there to celebrate accordingly.”

Colonel, afterwards Sir Francis Wyndham, the first baronet, and Lady Wyndham, his wife, who survived him, are both buried beneath the chapel. We may have anticipated that gratitude and respect would have raised some fitting memorial to the loyal and faithful preserver of his Sovereign—who “forsook not the Crown even when it hung upon a bush”—but there is none, save the following inscription on a Hamdon Hill stone, lately removed from the floor:—“Here lyeth the body of Sir Francis Wyndham Baronet who dyed the 15th day of July 1676 *Ætatis sue . . .*”, and this to Lady Wyndham, “Dm. (Dame) A W obt Jul 19 Ano Dom. 1698.” From his coffin-plate we learn that Sir Francis was aged 66.

General Hugh Wyndham, son of Sir Francis, is also buried here. The register states, “The Honble. Hugh

Wyndham died at Valencia in Spain Sept 30 1706 and was brought and buried at Trent May 31 1707." There is a tradition that he was buried in three kingdoms—his body in one, his heart in another, and his bowels in a third. His heart is certainly preserved in spirits and deposited in the chapel vault.

The baronetcy of Wyndham expired with Sir Francis Wyndham, who died in his childhood, 1719. The female line is continued in several families, and amongst them in that of Harbin Elizabeth one of the daughters of Sir Francis, the first baronet, being the wife of William Harbin, ancestor of the present Mr. George Harbin of Newton, where there are portraits of Sir Francis and Lady Wyndham, and some royal grants and relics noticed in the Society's *Proceedings* for 1853.

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ON THE  
*Cephalopoda Bed & the Oolite Sands*  
OF  
*Dorset and part of Somerset.*

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BY JAMES BUCKMAN, F.G.S., F.L.S., ETC., ETC.

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AT the village of Bradford Abbas, in the county of Dorset, there have been opened during my residence three distinct quarries, namely :—

1. **AMBURY QUARRY**, near the road between Yeovil and Sherborne, adjoining the farm.
2. **EAST HILL QUARRY**, on my farm.
3. **HALLS QUARRY**, to the south of (2), also on my farm.

These three quarries are in a line almost north and south, East Hill Quarry, the central one, being nearly equidistant from the other two, and 1 and 3 are about a mile apart.

A general idea of these may be gathered from the section :



*a* Inferior Oolite Sands.    *b* Inferior Oolite.    *c* Fuller's Earth.

These three quarries have mostly been worked for road-mending and rough masonry work. Their difference of level is accounted for by a series of faults. (The surface of the section and the hill behind afford a view of the substrata of my farm, the buildings of which are situate at 4.) The difference in the level of the farm is about 150 feet, the lowest part being situate on Fuller's Earth. This higher geological stratum having been brought down by faulting, as indicated in the section.

The following section will illustrate the general composition of the three quarries :—

ABOUT Feet 6	1. Irregular beds of whitish and blue centred Free-stones, parted with seams of a white Marl.	1	Fuller's Earth
10	2. Beds of white, sometimes blue, centred Free-stones.	2	
4	3. Foxy coloured and bluish ironshot Oolite, divided into two stages by a thin band of dark marl.	3	Q u a r r y
2	4. Grey and bluish Silicious Oolite.	4	d i t t o
100 to the base of Babylon Hill.	5. Sands with occassional bands of blocks or nodules of indurated stone.	5	d i t t o
		7	Inferior Oolite
		8	Sands—Inf. Oolite

The beds as here set down are of great interest as regards their fossils, which may now be briefly noted as follow :—

1. Contains examples of *Ammonites subcontractus*, Morris and Lycett, pl. 2. f. 1—2, and *A. arbustigerus*, D. Orbigny. The latter, as stated by Morris and Lycett, “described by M. D’Orbigny as occurring both in the Great and Inferior Oolite of Normandy.” *Belemnites canaliculatus*, *Geol. Chelt.* t. 3, f. 8, is not uncommon. Other shells occur, but, as a rule, the rock is very barren.

2. The Freestone beds contain but few Fossils, poor specimens of *Ammonites Parkinsoni*, *Belemnites*, and *Trigonia* are sometimes met with.

3. This bed, of from 2 to 5 feet in thickness, is, perhaps, the richest *fossil deposit* of the Inferior Oolite ; and, both in the numbers of species and individuals, it is, . perhaps, not surpassed anywhere. We have already ascertained the following, namely :—Species—consisting of—

<i>Cephalopoda</i>	...	65	Species more or less.
<i>Gasteropoda</i>	...	50	
<i>Brachiopoda</i>	...	15	
<i>Mollusca</i>	...	80	

4. Contains but few fossils. *Iosocardia (Ceromya), concentrica*, is the most characteristic. It is here called the “Dew bed.”

5. The sands present but few, and those very imperfect, fossils in the purely arenaceous beds, but some of the interpolated bands of stone are full of organic remains ; and as I think them so truly Oolitic they will be committed upon presently.

Here it will be seen that the beds 3 and 5 present especial points of interest ; it will be my object then to direct particular attention to them.

Now, as regards the bed marked 3, it may be stated that it has generally received the name of THE "*Cephalopod Bed*," to which the abundance of remains of this class fully entitles it. It will be seen that at Bradford it rests on the so-called "Inferior Oolite Sands" of the Ordnance Survey, quoting from a map of 1811, but named "Liassic Sands" by Dr. Wright. This author, in his excellent paper on the *Inferior Oolite*, in the 16th vol. of the *Journal of the Geological Society*, has the following remarks (p. 34) :—

"The Inferior Oolite, which near Yeovil immediately overlies the sands, is comparatively thin, in consequence of the absence of the thick-bedded limestones which impart such a thickness to this formation in Gloucestershire."

The late Hugh E. Strickland took another view of these Dorset beds, as in his description of the Leckhampton Hill section we find the following :—

"(7). Ferruginous beds, consisting of coarse Oolite in the upper part, and of the very peculiar, large-grained Oolite or Pisolite ("Pea-grit") in the lower. A few miles to the south the Pisolite disappears, and is replaced near Painswick, and at Haresfield Hill, by strata containing ferruginous Oolite grains in a brown paste. This is the precise equivalent of the well-known Oolite of Dundry, near Bristol, which may be recognised as far off as Bridport, on the Dorset coast. At Leckhampton the Pisolite rests on a few feet of ferruginous Oolite and sand. The total thickness of this portion of the series is 42 feet." —*Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. vi. p. 249.

Now I have been particular in quoting thus much, as it so clearly expresses the author's opinion—not that the lower beds of the Inferior Oolite are absent in Dorset, but—that the Cephalopoda bed of this county is the equivalent

of the lower Oolitic bed of Leckhampton, or, rather of the “Upper Liassic bed.”

Dr. Lyett expresses the same views, he says:—

“Considering the position of the Mollusca bed beneath the freestones, and overlying the Cynocephala stage, it may approximately be placed upon the parallel of the Cheltenham ferruginous Pisolite.”—*The Cotteswold Hills*, p. 72.

Mr. Moore has very recently written to the same effect, as in speaking of the section at Half-way House (within a mile of Bradford), he says:—

“The Cephalopoda bed of Half-way House contains many of the organic remains of that zone in Gloucestershire, and amongst the Ammonites may be mentioned, *A. Parkinsoni*, *A. Sowerbyi*, *A. Moorei*, *A. Martinsii*, and *A. variabilis*.”—Moore on *The Middle and Upper Lias of the South-West of England. Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. xiii. 1865-6.<sup>1</sup>

It may be observed in passing, that this small list of Ammonites occurring together in this place must be a hard nut for the zonal theorists to crack.

The last paper on *The Inferior Oolite*, from which we shall now quote, is by Dr. H. Holl. This geologist, after quoting some of the opinions we have already cited, says:—

“The result of my own investigations is at variance with each of these views; and, having followed the beds stratigraphically along the line of their outcrop, I shall endeavour to show that their true position is higher in the series than is stated by any of these geologists, and that they are, in fact, the southern extensions of the Upper and Lower Ragstones of Mr. Hull, the uppermost of which is not represented in the typical section of Leckhampton, having risen above the level of the country, and cropped

(1). Reprinted later in a separate book.

out before reaching the brow of the hills."—*Quarterly Journal Geological Society* for August, 1863.

If, then, we sum up these opinions, we shall find that, while Dr. Holl places our Cephalopod bed so high that it is above Leckhampton Hill, and yet does not account for the Oolitic mass at Leckhampton (which, according to his view, is not found in Dorset), Dr. Wright now correlates the Bradford Cephalopoda bed with the *Humphresianus* zone on the top of Leckhampton, considering the beds below as absent. Other writers, however, consider it to be the representative of the Cephalopoda bed at the base of the Gloucestershire Oolite series.

Now, as, after eight years of work in Dorset, I happen to differ from all these conclusions, it will, perhaps, be as well to state shortly at this point the views I mean to advocate. My notions, then, are :—

1st. That the Dorset Cephalopoda bed is the representative of the Rubbly Oolite at the top of Leckhampton Hill, and of Cold Comfort, and consists of the Gryphite and Trigonia Grits of the *Geology of Cheltenham* (p. 25).

2nd. The so-called "Lias or Oolite Sands" underlying the Bradford Oolite Stone are really the representatives of the lower members of the Inferior Oolite of Gloucestershire, at least for 100 feet of their thickness.

As it may assist in any conclusions as regards the first position, I here give a list of the Cephalopods from the bed mostly in my own village :—

#### BELEMNITES.

B. canaliculatus, Schl., D'Orbig., &c.		B. sulcatus, Miller.
,, Blainvillii, Voltz, Phill. Monograph.		,, giganteus Blainc.
,, terminalis, Phill. do.		,, ellipticus, Miller.
,, anomalus, Phill. do.		,, abbreviatus, Sow.
,, apiciconus, Phill. do.		,, irregularis, Phill.
		,, brevis—new.

## NAUTILUS.

N. latidorsatus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, intermedius, Sow.  
 ,, truncatus, Sow.  
 ,, excavatus, Sow.  
 ,, sinuatus, Sow.

N. clausus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, lineatus, Sow.  
 ,, inoratus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, inflatus (?), D'Orbig.

## AMMONITES.

A. subradiatus, Sow.  
 ,, concavus, Sow (?).  
 ,, Murchisonæ, Sow.  
 ,, opalinus, Rein.  
 ,, corrugatus, Sow.  
 ,, lœviusculus, Sow.  
 ,, Tessonianus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, subcostatus, new.  
 ,, subradiatus, D'Orbig., non Sow.  
 ,, discoides, Zeit.  
 ,, discus, Sow.  
 ,, variabilis, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Sowerbyi, Sow.  
 ,, Truellii, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Moorei, Lycett.  
 ,, hecticus, Hartman.  
 ,, Jurensis, Zeit.  
 ,, Ooliticus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, polymorphus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, dimorphus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Martinsii, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Garantianus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Parkinsoni, Sow., and Nior-  
 tensis the same.

A. Dorsetensis, Wright., and Niortensis the same.  
 ,, Linneanus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Eudesianus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Tessonianus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Edouardianus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Thouarsensis D'Orbig.  
 ,, Cadomensis, Defrance.  
 ,, pygmeus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Gervellii, Sow.  
 ,, Brocchii, Sow.  
 ,, Blagdeni, Sow.  
 ,, Humphresianus, Sow.  
 ,, Braikenridgii.  
 ,, longiferus, D'Orbig.  
 ,, Brongniartii, Sow.  
 ,, Deslongchampsii, Defrance.  
 ,, Sauzei, D'Orbig.  
 ,, insignis, D'Orbig.  
 ,, aalensis Zeit. (candidus), D'Orbig., Pl. 63.  
 Undetermined forms } several.  
 Undescribed forms } several.

We have a number of specimens with the terminations to the mouths of the shells beautifully preserved. Indeed, as a rule, the Ammonites from Bradford, Sherborne, and Milborne Wycke might sit for such portraits as those drawn in the *Palæontologie Francaise*. I have made sketches of all these that I could well make out.

The following Ammonites belong to the sands :—

A. Moorei.	A. Jurensis.
„ Murchisonæ.	„ opalinus.
„ Eduardianus.	„ others.

#### ANCYLOCERAS.

A. annulatus, D'Orbig.	A. subannulatus, D'Orbig.
„ bispinatus, D'Orbig.	

On looking over these lists it will be seen that a fair percentage of Lias forms is represented ; at the same time the mass of these Cephalopods indicate a high position in the Inferior Oolite, and this prevalence must guide us, in as much as it is common for older forms of life to have a more or less wide range upwards, while the reverse would not be possible ; *i.e.*, fossils may range upwards, not downwards, from their starting point.

Again, while some of the shells of these lists are undoubtedly Liassic, yet we now know that many of them have been attributed to the Lias stage, on the assumption that the Dorset Cephalopoda bed was the equivalent of the lower Gloucestershire one : indeed, I have seen specimens from my own Bradford Abbas quarry labelled as from Upper Lias ; but, it is clear that, if this be so the whole series must belong to Upper Lias—a conclusion which no one would agree to.

It should here be mentioned that most of the fossils of the list have been obtained from my own quarry at Bradford Abbas ; at the same time, the same horizon, at no very distant points, will be found to differ greatly as to the prevalence of different species, especially of Ammonites.

Thus, at Bradford, the quarry by my dwelling-house is remarkable for the prevalence of *Ammonites subradiatus* and *A. Sowerbyi*, the latter less frequent than the former, while a cutting at the farm buildings presented more of the latter.

A quarry on the next farm, scarcely a quarter of a mile distant, is remarkable for *A. lœviusculus*.

At Half-way House, not half a mile from the latter, *A. Parkinsoni* is a most constant and beautifully-preserved fossil, remarkable both for quantity and size, as they not uncommonly attain to a diameter of as much as 24 inches.<sup>2</sup>

In the quarries close to the town of Sherborne the prevailing Ammonite is *A. Humphresianus*, mixed with *A. Gervellii*, both of which forms are rarely met with at Bradford, while it is worthy of remark that *A. subradiatus* and *A. Sowerbyi* rarely occur at Sherborne.

At Milborne Port *A. Blagdeni* and *A. Brocchii* are common, to the exclusion of those so abundant elsewhere ; so that, in a distance of little over five miles, the same bed may be called the *Zone* of any favourite Ammonite out of twenty.

I have thus far confined my observations to the "Cephalopoda bed," as this particular rock is so rich in them, and as the bed itself has been confounded with the one abounding in these remains in Gloucestershire ; but, it may be well to remark that, a large list of both *Gasteropoda* and *Conchifera* occurs in the same stratum, and these, like the Cephalopods, afford different species at different quarries : thus, the East Hill quarry at Bradford Abbas has afforded the finest series of univalve shells yet discovered in our British Inferior Oolite, and, indeed, taking all the fossils into consideration, it may be said that this two or three feet of rock yields a richer fauna than the two hundred feet making up the Inferior Oolite in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham.

It will be well now to give a detailed section of the Inferior Oolite of Dorsetshire, for which purpose I shall

(2.) This fossil has been erroneously named *A. Dorsetensis*.

choose that of Hall's Quarry, Bradford Abbas, as it contains the top of the Inferior Oolite, it being covered with the Fuller's Earth.

Section of Hall's Quarry, Bradford Abbas, in descending order :—

Fuller's Earth, called Fuller's Earth Rock.	Trigonia Grit of Cold Comfort.	Bivalve Bed at Lineover.	Gryphite Grit of Leckhampton.	ft. in.			
				1	Soil (comparatively stiff), Marly Oolite, with nodular masses of white Freestone, containing <i>Belemnites canaliculatus</i> and <i>Ammonites sub-contractus</i> (Morris and Lyett) .. .. .. ..	6	0
		2	Bed of white Freestone, with irregular cleavage .. .. .. ..	2	6		
		3	Shaly Oolite .. .. .. ..	2	0		
		4	Hard, blue-centred, rough Freestone .. ..	5	0		
		5	Foxy-coloured and bluish Freestones, with several species of <i>Astarte</i> .. .. ..	1	6		
		6	A thin band of Marl, charged with <i>Nucula</i> and small univalves .. .. ..		6		
		7	Cephalopoda bed, containing a large list of <i>Ammonites Terebratula Philipsii</i> , &c. .. .. .. ..	2	6		
Lower Beds of Inferior Oolite of Gloucestershire.		8	Hard, Silicious Oolite, graduating into sands—"Dew Bed" .. ..	2	0		
		9	Sands, with Freestone bands, as made out from deeper sections .. ..	100	0		

The section of Half-way House is much the same, but here it is not capped with Fuller's Earth.

The Marly band with Ironstone nodules is rich in *Astarte excavata*, *A. obliqua*, a small form of *Lima proboscidea*, and two new species of Myaoncha, *M. Longirostris*, *M. truncata* (nob), besides *M. crassa*.

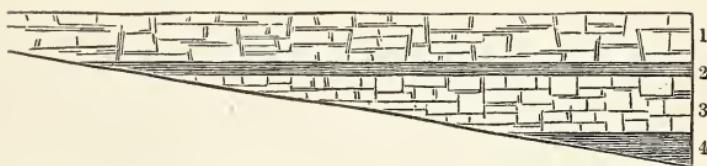
These two latter, it would seem, take the place of the *Perna mytiloides* (Bronn), which so abounds at the Lineover section at Cold Comfort.

As regards the Cephalopoda bed in the Bradford sections, it should here be mentioned that towards the bottom it is highly charged with univalves, with which are *Astarte elegans* and *Opis trigonalis* among the bivalves.

At Milborne Wycke the sands resolve into perfect white Oolite. The section occurs in a road cutting through a hill, at the bottom of which is a stream.

Section at Milborne Wycke, near Sherborne (in descending order) :—

		Soil.	ft.	in.
Trigona Grit.	1	White Oolite of irregular cleavage, with few fossils .. .. .. ..	15	0
	2	Cephalopoda bed, white and chalky in appearance, with occasional markings of green (Phosphate of Iron), charged with <i>Bel. ellipticus</i> , <i>Ammonites Blagdeni</i> , <i>A. Gervellii</i> , <i>A. cadomensis</i> and <i>A. subcostatus</i> (nob) prevail .. .. .. ..	12	0
Sands at Bradford.	3	White Oolite Freestone in irregular blocks, with a few Belemnites <i>Terebratula</i> , &c., as both 1 and 2 .. .. .. ..	20	0
	4	Layers of Oolitic Freestone, embedded in Marl, to bottom of section .. .. ..	10	0



1. *Rhynchonella spinosa*, *Ter. spiroidalis*.
2. The usual Inferior Oolite Ammonites, *A. Humphresianus*, as well as the above-named.
3. } Very unfossiliferous.
4. }

Now, if we compare this section with that of Ham Hill, in the opposite direction, as being to the left of Bradford, or west of Yeovil, we shall find that in this admitted section of nearly 100 feet of Inferior Oolite Stone the Cephalopoda bed is absent, and fossils are exceedingly rare.

Section at Ham Hill, Somerset :—

Probable position of Cephalopoda bed  
denuded ..

Freestones, &c., of Leckhampton	1*	Soil.	ft. in.	
			..	..
	1*	“Ochre beds,” a soft bedded sandy Oolite, not the best building stone .. ..	50	0
Shelly Oolite of Leckhampton	2*	Yellow and Ochreous beds, best building stone .. .. .. ..	30	0
Pea Grit of Leckhampton and Cottswolds	3*	A grey harder Oolite .. .. ..	10	0
		Sand.		

Probable position of Midford Sands, see Phillips'  
*Valley of the Thames*.

\* These beds are the equivalents of the Sands at Bradford, but here wholly Oolitic, and both at Ham Hill and Bradford the *Pecten dimissus* is a common shell.

The accompanying section is that of the road cutting ascending Babylon Hill, between Yeovil and Sherborne :—

Section of Babylon Hill :—

Cephalopoda bed.

These Stones and Sands are the equivalents of the Ham Hill Oolitic Building Stone.

		ft. in.
1.	Sand	5 0
2.	Sandy Oolite	9
3.	Sand	1 6
4.	Sandy Oolite	1 0
5.	Sand with occasional Stone	10 0
6.	Sandy Oolite	2 6
7.	Sands with irregular Stone	15 0
8.	Stone	2 0
9.	Sand	5 0
10.	Irregular masses of stone	2 9
11.	Sand	4 0
12.	Two bands of Stone	1 6
13.	Sand	3 6
14.	Stone	2 0
15.	Sands with occasional layers of stone at the upper part	50 0

Probable position of  
Midford Sands

In the Hollow-ways leading to Bradford, and again at the Yeovil Junction, the same section is repeated in its main characters, and it is impossible, on looking at any one of these (without knowing how soft the sands are), not to be struck with the general similarity in bedding and colour with the Ham Hill stone ; and I take it, then, that while at Ham Hill the rock became wholly consolidated into a more or less hard Freestone, at Bradford it has only been partially hardened.

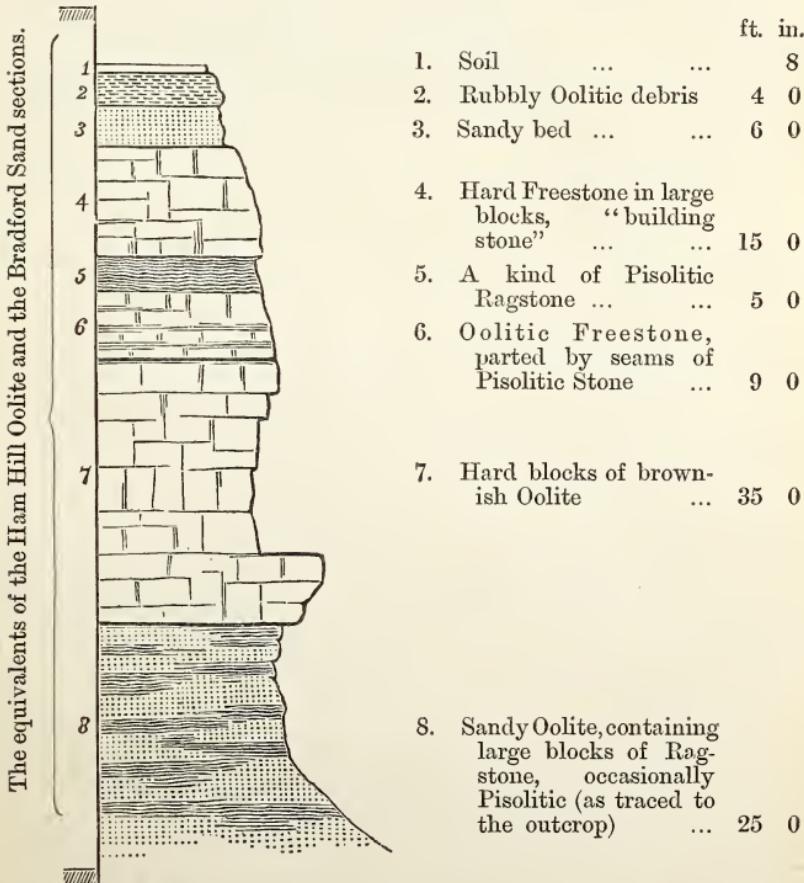
In both, fossils are rare, but at Ham Hill the stone is mostly made up of comminuted shells ; so the stone beds at Bradford are occasionally full of fossils, perfect specimens

of which are rare, but still so fossiliferous is its aspect as to have got for some of the layers the name of the Shelly bed, and there is reason to think that it really does correspond with the Shelly Oolite of the Cotteswolds.

The following section of the escarpment at Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire, in 1855, will explain the correlation now sought to be established.

Section at Crickley Hill Quarries :—

— Probable position of Dorsetshire Cephalopod bed.



— Probable position of Gloucestershire Cephalopod bed.

Upon this section we have the following notes :—

“ Some of bed (7) consists of seven layers of hard stone, some of which are as much as 3 ft. 6 in. thick, parted by thin seams of Oolitic sand.”

“ The bed (7) presents a fine example of the smooth-faced ‘ lissens ’ of the quarrymen.”

“ The blocks of stone include fine specimens of *Lima proboscidea*, *Gervillia Hartmanni*, *Modiola plicata*, *Belemnites compressus*, &c.”

Now, although the list from our sand—or infra Cephalopoda beds—as yet is not large, the following will sufficiently indicate their Oolitic character :—

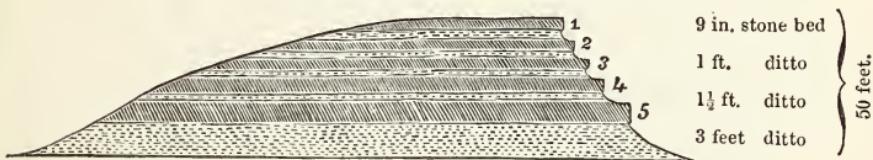
Belemnites compressus.	Astarte clathratus.
„ tricanaliculatus.	„ rigida.
„ subtenuis.	Avicula complicata (Buck.)
„ abbreviatus.	<i>Geol. Cheltn.</i> t. 6 f. 5.
Ammonites Moorei.	Gervillia Hartmanni.
„ Murchisonæ.	„ Pinna Hartmanni.
„ Eduardianus, D'Orb.	„ ampla.
„ opalinus.	Pecten lens.
„ Jurensis	„ annulatus.
others.	„ discites.
Nautilus latidorsatus.	„ demissus.
„ inornatus.	Trigonia <sup>3</sup> (both costated and elavellated forms).
Ostræa bullata.	Lucina Bellona, M. and L.
„ Marshii (young).	Ceromya (Isocardia) concentrica.
Gryphaea Buckmanni, Lycett (frequent).	Tancredia donaciforme.
Lima densipunctata, Ram.	Cardium.
„ grandis.	Serpula socialis.
Astarte elegans.	Ossicula of Apiocrinus.
„ pullus.	do. of Pentacrinus.
„ obliqua	Spines of Cidarides.

(3). As this genus is now being reviewed by Mr. Lycett we abstain from naming them more particularly, and especially as this matter is said by Mr. Lycett to be full of interest.

Most of the fossils in the above list occur in the hardened layers of "Shelly Oolite" which mark different stages in the sand. Occasionally these stones are mere masses of agglomerated shells, and must contain remains of a very large list of species, but they are so broken as to render their complete determination next to impossible.

As an evidence of the position of these we give the following section at Yeovil Junction :—

Section at the Yeovil Junction.



1. CEPHALOPODA BED. The top bed or Gryphite Grit of Leckhampton.
2. Sandy stone, with but few shells.
3. Do. with *Ammonites Jurensis* as much as 22 in. across.
4. Sandy Oolitic stone, occasionally separated into potlids, in which occur *Nautilus inornatus*.
5. Shelly Oolite, containing a long list of ascertained Oolite fossils, and probably a still longer list not made out.

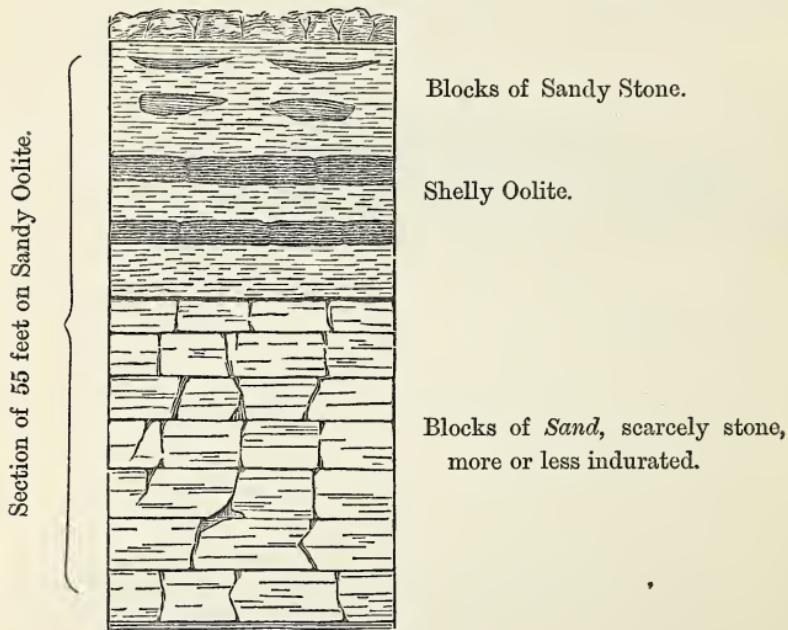
The above is a fine section on the west of the village of Bradford Abbas. It corresponds with the one to the east, the village reposing in a valley caused by faulting, the highest stratum of which consists of Fuller's Earth.

One point of interest in a section near the junction will be found in the appearance presented by the lower beds of sand, which break up into blocks, which, at a distance, both in colour and form, have the appearance of stones in a quarry of Ham Hill stone, and it is only when one

ascertains how soft they are that we become aware of the absence of lime and the presence of sand. And, indeed, in a cutting near my own farm, veins of white, powdery carbonate of lime—probably derived from shells—will be found in horizontal layers here and there in the sand.

We give a sketch of the section just adverted to :—

Section in the Sand near the Yeovil Junction.



From what has been already advanced it follows not only that the Dorset Cephalopod bed cannot be the equivalent of the Gloucestershire one, it being near the top, instead of at the bottom, of the inferior Oolite—nay, as some consider it as part of the Lias itself;—but that the so-called Lias Sands of Dorset are in reality the equivalent of the Inferior Oolite, and represent the mass of that rock as it occurs at Leckhampton and Crickley Hills, near Cheltenham.

In order to show this the more clearly we now take Dr.

Wright's section of the Oolites at Cleeve Hill, and by its side place—a plan of what we consider the Dorset equivalents. These latter are taken from three points—Sherborne, Bradford Abbas in Dorset, and Ham Hill in Somerset. It should, however, be remembered that the different members vary in thickness, even in quarries very near to each other, so that our plan<sup>3</sup> may better be considered as affording a relative view of the position of the different beds concerned, rather than as containing exact admeasurements.

It will be clearly seen from the diagram that the Dorset and Gloucester so-called Cephalopoda beds occupy very distinct positions, but if we revert to our list of these shells from Dorset, it will be found that most of them have been made out from D'Orbigny's *Palaeontologie Francaise, Terrains Jurassique*, and it may be said that the list has been made up from specimens much of the same character as the continental examples.

In the work just quoted many of our truly Oolitic examples are put down as from Lias; nay, more, very important conclusions have been founded upon the assumption that they are Liassic, when, after all, it now appears that the very fossils so confidently appealed to as an evidence of Lias are from near the top of the Inferior Oolite. Shall we say then, not that the fossils decided this question, but that these were quoted as Liassic, after the Gloucestershire Cephalopoda bed at the bottom, and the Dorset bed at the top, had been decided to be identical; and if further evidence were required upon this point it will be sufficient to state that we have examined specimens from our own quarry which had been labelled as from the Lias.

(3). See next page.

## GLOUCESTERSHIRE—WRIGHT.

## DORSET AND SOMERSET—

## BUCKMAN.

The Dorset and Somerset equivalents of the Inferior Oolite, Gloucestershire. The equivalents of the Sherborne and Bradford Abbas Oolites, including the Dorset Cephalopoda bed .. .. .. ..

This is a hard bed in the sands of Bradford Abbas, and contains *Serpula socialis* and *Pecten discites*, and *P. dimissus*.

	TRIGONIA GRT. Corals.	Ammonites Parkinsoni, and <i>Thecosmilia gregaria</i> , <i>Thamnastraea</i> , <i>Isastraea</i> , &c.
		<i>Gryphaea sublobata</i> , <i>Lima proboscidea</i> , <i>Trigonia costata</i> .
	CHERMNZIA GRT. Rubby Oolite.	<i>Chemnitzia procerata</i> .
	BRACHIOPODA BED.	<i>Terebratula Phillipsii</i> , in clusters.
	RoAD STONE.	Ammonites <i>Humphriesianus</i> , <i>Chemnitzia Scemannii</i> .
	OYSTER BED.	<i>Ostrea flabelloides</i> , <i>Lima Etheridgei</i> .
		Not known.
		Yellow and Brown Sands, with lenticular nodules of Sandstone.
		Hard wavy Sandstone. <i>Serpula socialis</i> , abundant.
		Marly Oolite.
		UPPER FREESTONE, with old <i>Terebratula fimbria</i> .
		Thin flaggy Oolite.
	OOLITE MARL.	<i>Lucina Wrightii</i> , <i>Terebratula fimbria</i> .
		Thin hard bands of Limestone.
		Thin beds of fine-grained Oolitic Limestone.

Also the equivalent of the Ham Hill building stone, which is simply the Dorset sands more Oolitic and compact

...     ...     ...     ...

Hard rubbly Oolitic Marl in broken masses.

LOWER FREESTONE, the Upper Terrace.

LOWER FREESTONE, the Lower terrace.

Hard beds of pisolithic Oolite.

Buff-coloured pisolithic Limestone.

ROSE STONE. *Pseudodiadema depressum*, *Acrosolenia Lycteti*, *Trochotoma carinata*.

PEA GRIT. *Pygaster semisulcatus*, *Ammonites Murchisonæ*, *Paella rugosa*, *Hinnites velatus*, *Avicula complicata*, *Terebratula simplex*, *T. plicata*.

Coarse ferruginous Oolite.

LIASSIC SANDS. Highly ferruginous.

UPPER LIAS. *Ammonites bifrons*.

Position of the Gloucestershire Cephalopoda bed, ammonites abundant

As regards this point, it should be stated that both continental and English geologists have fallen into the same error, and yet the investigations of the *one* are *confidently appealed to as harmonising with and as confirming the views of the other*.

We see then that instead of there being an abrupt termination of Lias Cephalopoda upwards, we now find that many of the species really extend to near the top of the Inferior Oolite ; so that, after all, the species of this important family, so constantly appealed to as separating the Lias from the Oolite in Gloucestershire and Dorset, extend to nearly the top of the Inferior Oolite of the latter county, while in neither district do they go downwards below the position of that bed in Gloucester, a fact which to us seems conclusive, that the Cephalopoda bed of the latter county is truly Oolitic.

It may, however, be urged, that if the Cephalopod beds of the two districts be so wide apart, the species will in no case be identical, and we are free to admit that, had the distinctive characteristics of these beds been made out before, many of the fossils would have got other names. Indeed, had it not been universally assumed that the Ironshot Oolite, so full of Ammonites in Dorset, was the counterpart of the Ironshot Cephalopoda bed of Frocester, the knowledge of the Ammonites would, perhaps, have been more confused than it is now, on account of the necessity a strict zonalist might be under to make the fossils of these two zones specifically distinct.

Again, as such fossils as the following

Ammonites Parkinsoni.

„ Humphresianus.

Ammonites Murchisonæ.

were found not to harmonise with the Cephalopoda of the Cephalopoda bed in Gloucestershire, we find our friend,

Dr. Wright, constructing a table, which he calls a "Tabular view of the Inferior Oolite in the south of England," &c., in which we have four different zones marked out, three named after the above Ammonites, and allocated to the Inferior Oolite of Cleeve, Dundry, Bradford, &c., and another as at the base, named the "*Zone of Ammonites Jurensis*," and said to belong to "*the Sands of the Upper Lias*," with "*Leckhampton, Dundry, and Yeovil*" given as "*type localities*." This table will be found in the *Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xvi. facing p. 5.

Now it so happens that nowhere in the Yeovil district have we these four zones marked, but in my own quarry and those in the district the Ammonites of these so-called four zones are inextricably mixed in about three feet of rock, and Dundry furnishes nearly the same list of Ammonites as Bradford.

If the *Jurensis* zone of Gloucestershire be found near Yeovil, it will be towards the bottom of the so-called "*Sands of the Upper Lias*," containing in part, if not wholly, the *Midford Sands* of Professor Phillips.<sup>4</sup>

Now, in a paper entitled *Note on the Midford Sands*, by Mr. H. B. Woodward, F.G.S., we have the following notes upon Dr. Wright's statements :—

"Dr. Wright pointed out that wherever the sands are well exposed (and he gave sections in Gloucestershire and Dorsetshire) they are overlain by a brown, ironshot, marly Limestone, containing 'an immense quantity of individuals of several species of Ammonites, Nautili, and Belemnites, with a few shells of other Mollusca,' and he maintained that this 'Cephalopoda bed,' in its organic remains, belonged rather to the *Lias* than the *Oolite* formation."<sup>5</sup>

(4). See *Geology of Oxford*, p. 109.

(5). *Geological Magazine*, vol. ix. No. 11.

If, then, this view be correct, my Bradford Abbas quarry at its base consists of this very "brown, ironshot, marly Limestone," belonging to the Lias; in other words, as it is a famous locality for *A. Jurensis* it would be called the "Zone of *A. Jurensis*," which, indeed, would be to split a stone to make a division between the Lias and Oolite. If, however, we recognise the fact that the Dorset Cephalopoda bed occupies the top of a thick mass of Oolite, which is here sandy in its composition, and that this thick mass is the true equivalent of the Inferior Oolite of Crickley Hill, which latter, again, is the equivalent of the Ham Hill, then the Gloucester Ammonite bed would be at the bottom of these representative sands if present, but though we find the *A. Jurensis* to pass through these sands into the *Humphresianus* zone or the *Parkinsoni* zone—whichever may be chosen,—yet we have not found any true Cephalopoda bed below the one we have described, though we are far from supposing it to be impossible.<sup>6</sup>

Speaking of the Ham Hill or "Stoke Section," Mr. Moore says as follows :—

"The workable freestone at this spot is 58 feet thick, and almost entirely composed of comminuted shells, united by an iron cement, and is a remarkable deposit; for, though attaining so considerable a thickness, it does not appear to be represented in any other locality."<sup>7</sup>

Here, then, we claim for the first time to have pointed out the representative of this deposit in the thick mass of sands and unbedded concretionary Limestones which

(6). Since this was written we have found bands at the bottom of the sands much charged with Ammonites, which we hope soon to work out.

(7). *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. xiii. 1865-6.

occur at Bradford Abbas, Babylon Hill, and other districts, both in Dorset and Somerset.

These beds have no claim whatever to be classed with the Oolite Sands of Gloucestershire, as the latter occupy a much lower horizon. It is, however, curious that the lithology of the Cephalopoda bed of Dorset and the one at Gloucester should be so much alike, and is interesting as showing how little reliance can be placed on structure.

The Brachiopoda are by no means so abundant as in the Cotteswolds, but the following are common in the Cephalopoda bed :—

Terebratula Philipsii.	Terebratula Buckmanni.
„ perovalis.	Rhynconella concinna.
„ perovalis var ampla.	„ spinosa.
„ sphæroidalis.	

We have hitherto dwelt principally upon the Cephalopods of this fine fossil bed, as they furnish such an extensive list, and as we nowhere know, in so small a thickness of rock of such an exhibition, both in the number of species and the frequency of individuals of very many of the forms ; but it must not be thought that this rock is poor in other groups of fossils, as, on the contrary, we find that this particular bed, of from 2 to 4 feet in thickness, has yielded about fifty species of Gasteropoda, whilst nearly all the *Lamellibranchiata* of the Cotteswold, and some few we have not met with there, are found in the rock in question.

*Echinodermata* are well represented, but neither these nor the *Zoophyta* seem so numerous as in the Cotteswold strata.

Plants are nearly absent, but fossil wood, and the remains of some form of Cycad have been found both at Bradford Abbas and at Half-way House.

In concluding this paper, I would thank Dr. Wright for the loan of a fine collection of Ammonites, which he kindly sent me for examination. My best thanks are also due to the Managers of the Bristol Institution, for their kindness in sending me their Oolitic series of Ammonites for study.

It should here be stated that in compiling the list of Cephalopods a great mass of notes have been made, with which it has been thought inexpedient to burden the text.

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Somersetshire Archaeological  
and  
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1874-5.

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*The Society of Antiquaries of London*  
*The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*  
*The Associated Architectural Societies of Northampton, &c., &c.*  
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*The Surrey Archaeological Society*  
*Societie Vaudoise des Sciences Naturelles, Lausanne*  
*The Lancashire Historic Society*  
*The Chester Local Archaeological Society*  
*The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*  
*University College, Toronto, Canada*  
*Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.*  
*Imperial and Royal Geographical Society of Vienna*  
*Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*  
*Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*  
*The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*  
*The Royal Dublin Society*  
*The Royal Norwegian University, Christiania*  
*The Essex Institute, Salem, Massachussets, U.S.*  
*The Bristol Naturalists' Society*  
*The Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*  
*The Geologists' Association*  
*The Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool*  
*The Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society*  
*The Kent Archaeological Society*

## Rules.

THIS Society shall be denominated "THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY;" and its object shall be the cultivation of, and collecting information on, Archaeology and Natural History in their various branches, but more particularly in connection with the county of Somerset, and the establishment of a Museum and Library.

II.—The Officers of the Society shall consist of a Patron and Trustees, elected for life; a President; Vice-Presidents; General and District, or Local Secretaries; and a Treasurer, elected at each Anniversary Meeting; with a Committee of twelve, six of whom shall go out annually by rotation, but may be re-elected. No person shall be elected on the Committee until he shall have been six months a Member of the Society.

III.—Anniversary General Meetings shall be held for the purpose of electing the Officers, of receiving the Report of the Committee for the past year, and of transacting all other necessary business, at such time and place as the Committee shall appoint, of which Meetings three weeks' notice shall be given to the Members.

IV.—There shall also be a General Meeting, fixed by the Committee, for the purpose of receiving Reports, reading Papers, and transacting business. All Members shall have the privilege of introducing one friend to the Anniversary and General Meetings.

V.—The Committee is empowered to call special Meetings of the Society upon receiving a requisition signed by ten Members. Three weeks' notice of such special Meeting and its object shall be given to each Member.

VI.—The affairs of the Society shall be directed by the Committee (of which the Officers of the Society shall be *ex-officio* Members), which shall hold Monthly Meetings for receiving reports from the Secretaries and sub-Committees, and for transacting other necessary business; three of the Committee shall be a quorum. Members may attend the Monthly Committee Meetings after the official business has been transacted.

VII.—The Chairman, at Meetings of the Society, shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a Member.

VIII.—One (at least) of the Secretaries shall attend each Meeting, and shall keep a record of its proceedings. The property of the Society shall be held in Trust for the Members by six Trustees, who shall be chosen from the Members at any General Meeting. All Manuscripts and Communications and the other property of the Society shall be under the charge of the Secretaries.

IX.—Candidates for admission as Members shall be proposed by two Members at any of the General or Committee Meetings, and the election shall be determined by ballot at the next Committee or General Meeting; three-fourths of the Members present balloting shall elect. The Rules of the Society shall be subscribed by every person becoming a Member.

X.—Ladies shall be eligible as Members of the Society without ballot, being proposed by two Members and approved by the majority of the Meeting.

XI.—Each Member shall pay Ten Shillings on admission to the Society, and Ten Shillings as an Annual Subscription, which shall become due on the 1st of January in each year, and shall be paid in advance.

XII.—Donors of Ten Guineas or upwards shall be Members for life.

XIII.—At General Meetings of the Society the Committee may recommend persons to be balloted for as Honorary or Corresponding Members.

XIV.—When any office shall become vacant or any new appointment shall be requisite, the Committee shall have power to fill up the same; such appointments shall remain in force only till the next General Meeting, when it shall be either confirmed or annulled.

XV.—The Treasurer shall receive all Subscriptions and Donations made to the Society, and shall pay all accounts passed by the Committee; he shall keep a book of receipts and payments which he shall produce whenever the Committee shall require it; the accounts shall be audited previously to the Anniversary Meeting by two Members of the Committee chosen for that purpose, and an abstract of them shall be read at the Meeting.

XVI.—No change shall be made in the laws of the Society except at a General or Special Meeting, at which twelve Members at least shall be present. Of the proposed change a month's notice shall be given to the Secretaries, who shall communicate the same to each Member three weeks before the Meeting.

XVII.—Papers read at Meetings of the Society and considered by the Committee of sufficient interest, shall (with the author's consent) be published in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

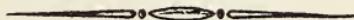
XVIII.—No religious or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society.

XIX.—Any person contributing books or specimens to the Museum shall be at liberty to resume possession of them in the event of a dissolution of the Society. Persons shall also have liberty to deposit Books or Specimens for a specific time only.

XX.—In case of dissolution the real property of the Society in Taunton shall be held by the Trustees for the advancement of Literature, Science, and Art, in the town of Taunton and the county of Somerset.

April, 1875.

\* \* \* *It is requested that Contributions to the Museum or Library be sent to the Curator, at the Taunton Castle.*



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1875.

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 Sloper, E. *Taunton*  
 Smith, Lady, *Somerton*  
 Smith, Cecil, *Bishops Lydeard*  
 305 Smith, Fredk. J., B.A. *Taunton*  
 Smith, Rev. Gilbert E. *Barton St. David*  
 Smith, Richard, *Bridgwater*  
 Solly, Miss L. *Bath*  
 Somerville, J. C. *Dinder, Wells*  
 310 Sotheby, Rev. T. H. *Langford Budville*  
 Sparks, William, *Crewkerne*  
 Sparks, W. B.       "  
 Speke, W. *Jordans, near Ilminster*  
 Spencer, J. H. *Galmington Lodge, Taunton*  
 315 Spicer, R. W. *Chard*  
 Stanley, E. J. *Quantock Lodge, Bridgwater*  
 Stanton, Rev. J. J. *Tockenham Rectory, Wotton Bassett*  
 St. Aubyn, Colonel, 7, *Great Bedford-street, Bath*  
 Stayner, James, *Ilminster (deceased)*  
 320 Stephenson, Rev. J. H. *Lympsham*  
 Stock, B. S. *Cote Lodge, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol*  
 Strachey, Sir E., Bart. *Sutton Court, Pensford, Bristol*  
 Stradling, W. J. L. *Chilton-super-Polden*  
 Stuart, A. T. B. *Mellifont Abbey, Wookey, Wells*  
 325 Stuckey, V. *Langport*  
 Surrage, J. L. *Wincanton*  
 Surtees, W. Edward, *Tainfield, Taunton*  
 Swayne, W. T. *Glastonbury*  
 Symes, Rev R. *Cleeve, Bristol*  
  
 330 Talbot de Malahide, Lord, *Evercreech, Shepton Mallet*  
 Taplin, T. K. *Carr Hill, Ockbrook, near Derby*  
 Taunton, Lady, *Quantock Lodge, Bridgwater*  
 Templeman, Rev. Alex. *Puckington*  
 Thomas, C. J. *Drayton Lodge, Redland, Bristol*  
 335 Thring, Rev. Godfrey, *Alford, Castle Cary*  
 Thring, Theodore,       "  
 Todd, Lt.-Col. *Keynston Lodge, Blandford*  
 Tomkins, Rev. H. G. *Weston-super-Mare*

Tomkins, Rev. W. S. *Castle Cary*  
 340 Trask, Charles, *Norton, Ilminster*  
 Trevelyan, Sir W. C. Bart. *Nettlecombe Court, and Wallington, Northumberland*  
 Trevelyan, Sir C. E., Bart., K.C.B., 8, *Grosvenor-crescent, Belgrave-square, London, S.W.*  
 Trevelyan, Arthur, *Tyneholm, Tranent, N.B.*  
 Trevelyan, Miss, *Nettlecombe Court*  
 345 Trew, Richard, *Axbridge*  
 Tuckwell, Rev. W. *Taunton*  
 Turner, C. J. *Staplegrove*  
 Turner, Henry G. „  
 Tyack, S. C. *Taunton*  
 350 Tylor, Edw. Burnett, LL.D., F.R.S. *Linden, Wellington*  
 Tyndall, J. W. Warre, *Perridge House, Shepton Mallet*  
 Tyrwhitt, Capt. Philip, *Wyke, Gillingham, Dorset*

Wade, C. *Banwell*  
 Wade, E. F. *Axbridge*  
 355 Walker, W. C. *Shepton Mallet*  
 Walrond, Rev. W. H. *Nynehead*  
 Walters, R. *Stoke-sub-Hambdon*  
 Walters, G. *Frome*  
 Ward, Rev. J. W. *Ruishton*  
 360 Warre, F. *Bindon, Wellington*  
 Warren, J. F. H. *Langport*  
 Warren, Rev. J. *Bawdrip*  
 Weatherley, Christopher, 39, *High-street, Wapping, London, E.*  
 Welman, C. N. *Norton Manor*  
 365 Welch, C. *Minehead*  
 Welsh, W. I. *Wells*  
 White, C. F. 42, *Windsor-road, Ealing, London, W.*  
 White, F. *Wellington*  
 White, Rev. F. W. *Crowle, Doncaster*  
 370 Whitfield, Rev. E. *Ilminster*  
 Whitmash, E. *Shepherds Bush, London (deceased)*  
 Wickham, Rev. H. D. *Horsington (deceased)*  
 Wilks, Rev. Theodore C. *Nately Scures, Hants*  
 Williams, Rev. Wadham Pigott, *Bishops Hull*  
 375 Winter, J. A. *Taunton*  
 Winterbotham, W. L., M.B. *Bridgwater*

Winwood, Rev. H. H. 11, *Cavendish-crescent, Bath*  
 Wise, Rev. W. J. *Shipham, Bristol*  
 Wood, Alexander, *Gower-street, London*  
 380 Woodforde, F. H., M.D. *Amberd House, Taunton*  
 Woodforde, G. A. *Castle Cary*  
 Woodhouse, Rev. F. T. *Otterhampton, Bridgwater*  
 Woodley, W. A. *Taunton*  
 Wotton, E.                    "

385 Yatman, Rev. J. A. *Winscombe, Weston-super-Mare*

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### New Members

Acton, H. B. 4, *Great Bedford-street, Bath*  
 Chapman, Wm. *Taunton*  
 Clifford, The Hon. and Right Rev. Bishop, *Bishop's House, Park Place, Clifton, Bristol*  
 Davies, J. Trevor, *The Abbey, Sherborne*  
 390 Davies, Dr. Nathaniel, *Sherborne*  
 Digby, Rev. R. H. W. *Thornford, Sherborne*  
 Donne, Robt. *Odcombe*  
 Eden, Chas. *The Grange, Kingston*  
 Errington, The Most Rev. Archbishop, *Prior Park, Bath*  
 495 Esdaile, Rev. W. *Cleeve, Bristol*  
 Glyn, Sir R. G. *Leweston, Sherborne*  
 King, Richard J. *The Limes, Crediton, Devon*  
 Lysaght, John, *West Town, Backwell, Bristol*  
 Manley, H. F. *Upcott, Bishops Hull,*  
 400 Manning, T. D. *Yeovil*  
 Newell, Rev. F. C. *Chiselborough*  
 Odgers, Rev. W. J. *Saville House, Weston, Bath*  
 Woodland, Wm. *Haines Hill, Taunton*

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Members are requested to inform either of the Secretaries of any errors or omissions in the above list; they are also requested to authorise their Bankers to pay their subscriptions annually to Stuckey's Banking Company, Taunton; or to either of their branches; or their respective London Agents, on account of the Treasurer.







